

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE

JANUARY 1957 -- APRIL 1957



DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 06-10-2009

**DO NOT
DESTROY**

FOIPA # 1123533-000

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

John Edgar Hoover, Director

100 10092 269

MAY 31 1957

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE

January 1957--April 1957

May 1957

**Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
John Edgar Hoover, Director**

57 N 121

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<u>PREFACE</u>	i
<u>SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS</u>	ii
A. Summary.....	ii
B. Conclusions.....	vii
 I. <u>FOREIGN POLICY</u>	 1
1. American Foreign Policy	2
2. Peaceful Coexistence and Competition	3
3. Disarmament.....	4
4. Nuclear Weapons	5
5. Crisis in the Middle East.....	7
6. The Eisenhower Doctrine	8
7. The Bermuda Conference	9
8. New Geneva Conference	10
9. Foreign Aid	11
10. Communist China	12
11. War Is Not Inevitable	13
 II. <u>DOMESTIC ISSUES</u>	 15
1. Prosperity.....	16
2. Inflation	17
3. Taxes	18
4. Federal Social Welfare Program	19
5. Civil Liberties	19
6. State Department Passport Policy	20
7. Relations with Other Communist Parties	21
8. Relations with Other Socialist Groups	22
9. Broad Socialist Coalition	23
10. Antimonopoly Coalition	23

11.	Peaceful Road to Socialism	24
12.	American Road to Socialism	25
13.	Communist Independence	26
14.	Validity of Marxism-Leninism	27
15.	Democratic Centralism	27
16.	Future of American Communism	28
III.	<u>LABOR AND INDUSTRY</u>	30
1.	Republican Administration Is Pro-Big Business.....	31
2.	Excess Profits Cause Price Increases	32
3.	Labor Racketeering	33
4.	Attacks on Labor Movement	35
5.	"Right-to-Work" Laws	36
6.	Labor's Political Activity	36
7.	Automation	38
8.	Minimum Wage	39
9.	Shorter Work Week	40
10.	Organizing the Unorganized	41
11.	Labor Unity	41
12.	Relations with the Labor Movement	43
13.	Workers Need Socialism	43
IV.	<u>AGRICULTURE</u>	44
1.	Dissatisfaction among Farmers	44
2.	Plight of the Small Farmers	45
3.	Republican Administration Blames Labor	46
4.	Increased Aid to Farmers Is Necessary.....	46
5.	Farmers Need Support	47
V.	<u>COLONIALISM</u>	48
1.	Colonial Revolution	48
2.	American Imperialism	49
3.	USSR Opposes Colonialism	50
4.	Africa	51
5.	Algeria	51
6.	Cuba	52
7.	Ghana	53
8.	Latin America	54

9.	Mexico	55
10.	Philippine Islands.....	55
VI.	<u>LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL AFFAIRS</u>	57
1.	The 85th Congress	57
2.	Expulsion of Senator Eastland.....	58
3.	Congressional Investigating Committees.....	59
4.	Smith Act.....	61
5.	Taft-Hartley Law.....	62
6.	McCarran Act.....	63
7.	Repeal Anticommunist Legislation.....	63
8.	Congressional Attacks on Supreme Court.....	64
9.	Negro Supreme Court Justice	65
VII.	<u>ARMED FORCES</u>	66
1.	Withdrawal of Troops from Foreign Bases	66
2.	American Military Budget	67
3.	Soviet Military Budget.....	68
4.	German General for NATO	68
5.	Marine Corps Training.....	69
VIII.	<u>MINORITY (NATIONAL AND RACIAL) GROUPS</u>	71
1.	Racial Discrimination.....	71
2.	Federal Civil Rights Legislation.....	73
3.	Federal Intervention in the Southern States	74
4.	Negroes Need Support	75
5.	Program for Negro Liberation	76
6.	Struggle for Negro Rights Continues	77
7.	Negro-Labor Unity.....	78
8.	Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom.....	78
9.	Negro Religious Leaders	79
10.	Discrimination Inherent under Capitalism	80

IX.	<u>EDUCATION</u>	81
	1. Students Interested in Communists' Views	81
	2. Crisis in Education	82
	3. Teachers' Salaries	83
X.	<u>CULTURE, SCIENCE, AND RELIGION</u>	84
	1. Government Neglects the Arts	84
	2. Proletarian Literature	85
	3. Art Should Promote Social Progress	86
	4. Modern Science Requires Socialism	87
	5. Socialism Is Not Antireligious	88
	6. Major Religions Hope for Peace	88
XI.	<u>WOMEN</u>	89
	1. Equal Pay for Equal Work	89
	2. Discrimination against Negro Women	89
XII.	<u>YOUTH</u>	91
	1. The "'Scared Generation' "	91
	2. Struggle for Socialism Will Improve Youth	91

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PREFACE

The supporting quotations set forth in this monograph have been selected from authoritative communist publications to illustrate the position which the Communist Party, USA, has adopted on principal current issues of international and national interest.

The publications reviewed in order to determine the viewpoint of the Communist Party, USA, included the newspapers Daily Worker and The Worker, as well as the periodicals Political Affairs and Mainstream.

With reference to the transcription of the quotations which comprise a large portion of this monograph, only misspellings have been indicated by underlining. Underlining was not used to indicate errors in grammar, punctuation, spacing, or capitalization.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A. Summary

In the field of international relations, the Communist Party, USA, continued its advocacy of peaceful coexistence and competition between the capitalist and socialist nations. Great emphasis was placed on the need for further disarmament and for a ban on the testing of nuclear weapons. The Party also claimed that joint action between the United States and the Soviet Union will be necessary to achieve a lasting peace between Israel and the Arab Nations. The Eisenhower Doctrine was bitterly and frequently attacked, and the Bermuda Conference was viewed as an unsuccessful attempt to improve Anglo-American relations. The Party issued repeated calls for another Geneva Conference as the best method of reducing international tensions. Party propaganda claimed that all foreign aid should be coordinated through the United Nations and supported the claim of communist China for admission to that body. In line with Soviet propaganda, the Party also affirmed that war is no longer inevitable.

With reference to domestic issues, current prosperity was viewed with considerable skepticism, and the Party traced inflation to Government expenditures for armaments and to the excess profits of the large corporations. Party demands for a reduction in the taxes of the low-income group and for an

expanded Federal program of social welfare continued. The Party expressed concern because the "'security' dragnet" has become "ingrained" in the United States and criticized the policy of the Department of State with regard to the issuance of passports.

The Party upheld the validity of Marxism-Leninism, democratic centralism, and proletarian internationalism. While claiming that it advocates an "American" and a "peaceful" road to socialism, the Party continued to stress the importance of the class struggle. The Party offered to cooperate with other socialist-oriented groups in the formation of a broad socialist coalition based on Marxist principles. At the same time, however, Party propaganda stressed the organization of an antimonopoly coalition as the "main strategic task." The Party asserted its independence from the Soviet Union and proclaimed its faith in the future of socialism in the United States.

Party attacks on the Republican Administration for its "policies favoring big business" continued. The large corporations were accused of using wage increases as excuses for raising prices, thereby "extorting" higher profits. The recent congressional hearings on racketeering in labor unions were, in the Party's view, motivated by "anti-unionism." The Party claimed that the current "drive" against the labor movement is designed to

promote the enactment of "right to work" laws as well as additional legislation which would restrict political activity by labor unions. The American Federation of Labor - Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) was urged to press its demands for a shorter work week and for an increase in the minimum wage, particularly in view of the problems raised by increased automation. The Party also called on the labor movement to intensify its organizing efforts in the Southern States. The Party insisted that its members "are needed among the workers" and denied any intention to seize control of the labor movement. Socialism was offered as "the only basic answer" to the problems of American workers.

The Republican Administration and "big agriculture" were criticized for attempting to drive the small-scale farmers from the land. The labor movement was urged to support the demands of the farmers for increased Federal assistance.

The colonial revolution, symbolized by the emergence of Ghana as an independent state, was interpreted by the Party as a major factor in the struggle for peaceful coexistence. The United States was condemned for attempting to dominate the underdeveloped nations of the world, while the Soviet Union was praised for its "support" of the right of self-determination for all nations.

Party propaganda pictured the 85th Congress as dominated by an "anti-labor coalition," and the Party repeated its demands for the expulsion of Senator James O. Eastland from the United States Senate. Party attacks on the activities of congressional investigating committees continued. The Party called for the repeal of all anticommunist legislation and urged that those convicted of violating the Smith Act be granted amnesty. The "reactionary assault" of Congress on the United States Supreme Court was criticized, and the Party called for the appointment of a Negro judge to that tribunal.

The return of all foreign troops to their own countries was urged, and the military appropriations of the United States were contrasted unfavorably with Soviet military expenditures. The appointment of Lieutenant General Hans Speidel to command the ground forces of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in Central Europe was criticized as was the training program of the United States Marine Corps.

The Party described the struggle for full social, political, and economic equality for Negroes as the "crucial" and "decisive" domestic issue and pledged all of its resources to the support of the "Negro liberation movement." Numerous appeals for the enactment of Federal civil rights legislation and for Federal intervention to protect the rights of Negroes in the

Southern States were issued by the Party. The labor movement was urged to support the Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom in Washington, D. C., on May 17, 1957. The Party also paid tribute to the Negro religious leaders for their efforts in raising Negro religious life to "a new and glorious stage."

The Party claimed to detect an increased interest in communist views among students. The salaries of teachers were deemed inadequate, and the Party called for an expanded program of Federal and state aid to relieve the crisis in the field of education.

The Federal Government was accused of neglecting the fine arts, and the late Arturo Toscanini was praised for using his musical talent "to build a better world." The Party claimed that a socialist society is required to cope with the economic advances which have resulted from recent scientific developments. The claim was also made that socialism does not present any barrier to religious freedom, and the Party noted approvingly that the Christian, Moslem, and Jewish religions hope for peace.

The Party insisted that women should receive equal pay when they perform the same work as men, and the persistence of racial discrimination against Negro women in industry was deplored.

Party propaganda claimed that the cold war has transformed American youth into a "Scared Generation." "Increased participation in the struggle

for socialism was suggested as a means of elevating the moral standards of the younger generation.

B. Conclusions

1. The Communist Party, USA, emerged from its 16th National Convention in February, 1957, as a going organization. Since the discussion and debate in connection with this Convention have now been largely terminated, an upsurge in all phases of Party activity is anticipated.
2. In the recent past, the Party has emphasized the claim that it formulates its policies independently and without any instructions from communists in other nations. To give any substance to this claim, it will be necessary for the Party to repudiate its present viewpoint on virtually every aspect of international relations. However, no significant change in the Party's position on any issue of current international interest is anticipated.
3. The Party has designated the organization of an antimonopoly coalition as its principal immediate task. In an effort to gain widespread support for this united front, the Party is expected to be less outspokenly critical of noncommunists and non-communist organizations than in the past.
4. In its efforts to emerge from its present isolated position, the Party is expected to concentrate on united action with noncommunist organizations in support of popular social and economic issues. For this reason, it is anticipated that there will be a de-emphasis on the fundamental differences between the Communist Party, USA, and many noncommunist organizations.
5. In its efforts to gain acceptance as a legitimate political party, the Communist Party, USA, is expected to stress the claim that it advocates a peaceful transition to socialism. At the same time, however, it is anticipated that Party propaganda emphasizing the importance of the class struggle will continue.

6. The Party has officially adopted a "new approach," more conciliatory than in the past, to other socialist-oriented groups. This can be taken as an indication that discussions will continue between Party leaders and officials of these other organizations in an effort to find areas of agreement.
7. The Party is currently placing considerable emphasis on the efforts of Negroes to gain their complete equality. It is, therefore, anticipated that the Party will intensify its attempts to exploit the grievances of this minority group.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

I. FOREIGN POLICY

1. "Co-existence not containment" should be the basis of the foreign policy of the United States.
2. Peaceful coexistence between capitalism and socialism is "the only hope for mankind's survival."
3. "Logic, common sense and humanity," all call for increased disarmament.
4. The testing of nuclear weapons should be discontinued.
5. Joint action by the United States and the Soviet Union is needed to end the crisis in the Middle East.
6. The Eisenhower Doctrine is "a blank check for military intervention" in the Middle East.
7. The Bermuda Conference failed to resolve the differences between the United States and Great Britain.
8. Another Geneva Conference is necessary to settle "all outstanding issues between East and West."
9. Aid to the underdeveloped nations of the world should be administered through the United Nations and should be offered "without strings attached."
10. The United States should extend diplomatic recognition to communist China, which should also be admitted to the United Nations.
11. As a result of the increased strength of the socialist nations, the weakening of the capitalist nations, and "the struggles of the people," war is no longer inevitable.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. American Foreign Policy

"WITH SPRING have come unmistakable signs of a thaw in the cold war."

"But obviously the thaw can develop into a more lasting peaceful settlement only if the cold war is ended. And this Secretary of State Dulles refuses to concede. He will go along with an absence of war, but he wants a cold war along with it."

Editorial, The Worker,
April 28, 1957, p. 4.

"Co-existence not containment is what American foreign policy requires."

Daily Worker,
March 13, 1957, p. 5.

"The cold truth is that the State Department today is not conducting diplomacy. It is still so wrapped up in cold war propaganda, and in pactomania that it has not begun to explore the major need of American foreign policy. That need can be summed up in one word--negotiation."

Daily Worker,
March 15, 1957, pp. 5, 7.

"...The first task for the American people is...to question and radically change U.S. foreign policy as a whole."

The Worker,
March 24, 1957, p. 14.

2. Peaceful Coexistence and Competition

"THE supreme task of labor and all other sections of the American people on May Day 1957 is, of course, the continuing fight for peace."

Daily Worker,
April 29, 1957, p. 5.

"...we live in a world where peace between the communist and capitalist countries is the only hope for mankind's survival..."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
January 30, 1957, p. 5.

"President Eisenhower addressed some friendly words to the people of Russia. We're sure the American people want friendship and not cold war. But the implication of the President's remarks was that peaceful coexistence starts only when Russia has a government with which the President agrees.

"But coexistence involves differing and competing social, economic, political systems. The peace which the President says he seeks demands coexistence between two governments as dissimilar as the Soviet and ours.

"What if the Russians insisted that America must be communist before there can be friendship, cooperation, coexistence? Surely Eisenhower wouldn't tolerate such a view.

"America is involved in world affairs. But if its in-involvement is of the military alliance character it has been, if it is based on guns instead of butter, if it relies on Truman doctrines and Eisenhower doctrines instead of peaceful competition among differing systems, it puts off what all America and all the world yearns for--an end to the cold war."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
January 23, 1957, p. 5.

3. Disarmament

"THE UNITED NATIONS Subcommittee on Disarmament is meeting once more in London. Representatives of the U.S., USSR, Britain, France and Canada are participating. Even before the meeting began, it was clear that many differences between East and West on disarmament had been eliminated. The gap between both disarmament plans had narrowed considerably, so much in fact, that it would take considerable ingenuity to prevent an agreement on disarmament.

"Still there were grave doubts that any practical steps toward disarmament would result immediately from this meeting. An obvious question that arises is whether the beneficiaries of the 40-billion-dollar arms program in our country don't have a vested interest in preventing arms reduction. But clearly such an interest violates the national need--for cutting taxes, preventing inflation and, most important, lifting the fear of atomic destruction."

Editorial, The Worker,
March 24, 1957, p. 4.

"What could be a more forceful argument for disarmament than actual disarmament steps? And naturally the Soviet Union receives an enormous propaganda advantage because the Eisenhower budget proposed a \$4 billion increase for military purposes.

"The budget presented to the Supreme Soviet is especially significant because the 16 percent allocated to arms is the lowest percentage figure since the end of World War II. Though this does not end the arms race, it certainly raises the question why American taxpayers will have to go along with the biggest budget and heaviest taxes in our history?"

"There's a stalemate in the East-West weapons race which cannot be affected by an increase of another billion and another billion. All experts are agreed that both sides have enough H-bombs to blow each other off the map. Logic, common sense and humanity demands disarmament and, as a very minimum--ending all test explosions of the horror bombs.

"Public opinion can be decisive in this matter affecting every American man, woman and child."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
February 7, 1957, p. 5.

4. Nuclear Weapons

"THE BOMB testing season is upon us again. Despite the warnings of scientists and the pleas of laymen and dignitaries, despite the fears that radioactive poison may cause incalculable damage to humanity, the great powers continue their test explosion of nuclear and hydrogen bombs.

"Britain has already announced H-bomb tests to be held in the Pacific beginning this month. The U.S. will be testing bombs again, with small weapons tests to start in Nevada in last spring,*and the Atomic Energy Commission announced this weekend that the Soviet Union had exploded a nuclear bomb."

"The governments juggle their cosmic toys, and nothing is done to reach an agreement to halt these tests."

"Now is the time, as great power follows great power with its test explosions, for a new public demand that our government take the initiative to secure anagreement stopping all further nuclear test explosions."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
March 14, 1957, p. 5.

"There is a need for something new, some measure, some action which the big powers of the world can take which would reduce suspicion and ease tensions. An obvious step again commends itself to all men and women

*This probably should read "late spring."

of good will. If all the powers who have the atomic and hydrogen bomb would agree to halt test explosions, it could prove the prelude to actual agreement on disarmament."

Editorial, The Worker,
March 24, 1957, p. 4.

"The Soviet government has repeatedly proposed halting the tests as a first step toward arms reduction. Japan, India and Sweden have made similar proposals...."

"Why does the Eisenhower Administration refuse to get off that lethal dime? It might not be a bad idea to ask Ike as well as your Senators and Congressmen."

Editorial, The Worker,
March 17, 1957, p. 4.

"STILL IT IS difficult to understand what objection there can be to a plan that would stop all test explosions forthwith. The scientists have confirmed the fact that any large atomic explosion can be determined almost immediately. This means there is a built-in inspection system contained in the proposal to stop the explosions...."

Daily Worker,
March 20, 1957, p. 5.

"THE PERSISTENCE with which proposals for halting all future nuclear test explosions crop up all over the world indicate that this is one issue which will continue to dominate the news until resolved...."

The Worker,
January 27, 1957, p. 13.

5. Crisis in the Middle East

"But it was oil colonialism which created the entire Middle East crisis. It was the energetic protection of the big oil profiteers by the State Department and action against their British and French competitors for Middle East oil which helped bring about the present crisis. It is the effort of the Eisenhower Administration to choke the Arab liberation movements and to line up the Arab states in the Baghdad pact against the Soviet Union which has aggravated the crisis. Eisenhower proposes no sanctions against the oil profiteers--he allows them to raise prices and gouge the American public!"

"There is one move open to our government which could settle these issues peacefully, satisfactorily and immediately. This would be an invitation by our government to the Soviet government to act together for an Israeli-Arab settlement...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
February 22, 1957, p. 5.

"...What is needed now, and it lies well within the bounds of realization, given the will to obtain it, is an agreement affirming Egyptian sovereignty over the Canal and guaranteeing the right of access to shipping of all lands including Israel."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
March 11, 1957, p. 5.

"The Sixth Fleet is not an instrument for maintaining Middle East peace. The United Nations was set up for that purpose...."

"Above all, now is the time for the Big Four...to get together in behalf of Middle East peace. An important step in this direction would be the proposal to halt our naval maneuvers and all shipments of arms to all Middle East lands."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
April 26, 1957, p. 5.

"It is our belief that peace will come to the Middle East when we stop power politicking and get together with the Soviet Union to use our joint influence to bring Arabs with Israelis around a single table."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
January 30, 1957, p. 5.

6. The Eisenhower Doctrine

"In reality, the Eisenhower-Dulles doctrine is a demand that Congress sanction Wall Street's plan to take over the role formerly played in the Middle East by British and French imperialism. This plan envisages ousting the British and French rivals of the American oil companies and using American men and money to halt the independence movement to the Arab nations.*

"As such it is a threat to peace. If unchallenged it will jeopardize the interests of the American people no less than the interests of the Arb and Israeli people.

"It will win us friends nowhere....

"For all these reasons the Eisenhower-Dulles doctrine should be defeated by the American people. It can be defeated if the people make their will felt."

"...For a positive alternative to the Eisenhower-Dulles doctrine; A new meeting at the summit to put the world back again on the Geneva road to disarmament, negotiations and peaceful co-existence."

Daily Worker,
January 14, 1957, p. 2.

*This probably should read "of the Arab nations."

"Boiled down to its essence, the Eisenhower Plan is an attempt to perpetuate the imperialist domination of the Middle East which has been shaken by the setbacks to the British and French imperialists in that region."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
January 7, 1957, p. 5.

"...While the Eisenhower Doctrine provides for military intervention, its most realistic aspect is the effort to use money, arms, diplomacy, economic inducements, higher prices for oil, and other such inducements to subvert and influence the Arab lands along with the Moslem nations already in the Baghdad pact."

The Worker,
February 3, 1957, p. 5.

"The basic reason for public concern is clear--this is a blank check for military intervention and bribery of feudal potentates in the Middle East. And every high school boy and girl knows that if this happens it will be to protect the multi-billion stake of the trust."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
February 1, 1957, p. 5.

7. The Bermuda Conference

"AS PRESIDENT EISENHOWER and Prime Minister Macmillan meet under the warm Bermuda sun they are having a hard time concealing the frosty relations between the two major Western allies.

"Two issues, among many others, divide the British and American governments. One is trade with China. The other is the Middle East crisis."

"Four power consultation is therefore a minimum for settling the Middle East crisis -- and it could also end the freeze in British-American relations."

Daily Worker,
March 22, 1957, p. 5.

"...the upshot of Bermuda was that Britain agreed to be taken into tow by the United States -- for a while. After its horrible fiasco in attempting an independent action -- the war against Egypt -- the British government placed further decisions on such matters in the hands of Ike and Dulles, at least for the present...."

"...All this, therefore, adds up to no settlement of Anglo-American differences at Bermuda. Such a settlement requires a wider Big power agreement."

Daily Worker,
March 27, 1957, p. 5.

8. New Geneva Conference

"PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S rejection of the Soviet proposal for a summit meeting to discuss disarmament is bad news for everybody except those who profit from the armaments race...."

"Let us examine the President's argument against a summit meeting at the present time. He says that the UN is the fitting place for disarmament discussion. But is there any contradiction between UN disarmament talks and a summit consideration of this issue? On the contrary, the UN deadlock on disarmament will be broken only if the major powers get together."

"But the UN will be able to tackle the disarmament question effectively when U. S. and the Soviet Union and the other big powers iron out a common approach. How else can these issues be settled except through negotiations? A summit parley could take up the minimum issue of ending hydrogen bomb test explosions immediately.

"For that matter, all outstanding issues between East and West, including the Middle East crisis, require top level negotiations. The Secretary General of UN, Dag Hammarskjold, does not think it wrong for the big powers to confer in order to carry out United Nations objectives. Indeed the UN was the formal sponsor of Geneva.

"The President's rejection of a summit conference now is particularly unfortunate in view of the narrowing of the gap between the powers on disarmament. For example, the Soviet Union has accepted a limited version of Eisenhower's aerial survey plan."

"But early in 1955 Eisenhower also opposed a summit meeting. It was public opinion here and abroad which brought it about. The people can once more be successful."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
January 4, 1957, p. 5.

9. Foreign Aid

"...As part of an over-all foreign aid program, loans and grants should be extended without strings attached to newly-liberated semi-colonial countries as well as to Socialist countries, like Poland, now seeking such business-like arrangements."

National Committee, CPUSA, "Facing the
85th Congress," Political Affairs, January,
1957, p. 3.

"A program of aid to...underdeveloped countries can be of mutual benefit if no strings are attached and if UN could become the proper factor in such a program."

Daily Worker,
March 4, 1957, p. 5.

"... But economic aid cannot be given -- or withheld -- as a maneuver for undermining national sovereignty. It should be administered -- with anonymous generosity -- through the United Nations..."

Daily Worker,
January 14, 1957, p. 4.

10. Communist China

"... It is also high-time to strengthen the UN by the admission of the People's Republic of China."

National Committee, CPUSA, "Facing the
85th Congress," Political Affairs,
January, 1957, p. 3.

"No matter what the consideration -- economics, peace, relations with the Asian and African countries -- America would be better off not only allowing reporters to go to China, but also opening up trade, allowing China to take its rightful seat in UN, and establishing diplomatic relations with China.

"In each case, self interest dictates such a course, and in the case of these two nations at opposite ends of the Pacific it is mutual interest."

Daily Worker,
February 8, 1957, p. 5.

"OF COURSE, the absurdity of the embargo against China is that it hurts us, or will hurt us in the long run, as much as it hurts Britain. So here we have an Administration policy which creates friction with our most important Western partner, while directly harming our own national interests insofar as business and diplomacy are concerned. To deprive our country of the biggest potential market in the world is stupid on the face of it. And to do this while injuring our diplomatic position in both Asia and Europe is a feat of asininity which even Dulles might prize as his biggest boner."

Daily Worker,
March 22, 1957, p. 5.

11. War Is Not Inevitable

"... There was a time when war was inevitable. Yes, people always hated war but the high and mighty could ignore the ordinary people. And since modern wars originated from the conflicts constantly operating among capitalist powers it was felt that peace could not be maintained for any length of time.

"The key to world politics today and the key to the issue of war or peace is the struggle of the people. This may sound trite but it's important because so many people tend to think of world politics as belonging strictly to the sphere of power relations. What will Washington do, or London, or Moscow, or Cairo? But it is the workers, the farmers, the so-called little people who are the big fact of contemporary world politics.

"If there is no inevitability of war it is due to the new relationship of forces that exists among the powers. There is the strength of the Soviet Union and China. There is the military stalemate, characterized by the possession of hydrogen bombs on both sides. There is the great weakening of imperialism that resulted from the independence won by most of the colonial countries.

"But all these factors and power relationships are operative only because of the struggles of the people. These struggles don't take place only under the leadership of one or another party or movement."

Daily Worker,
January 11, 1957, p. 5.

"World war is no longer inevitable. If the popular peace forces everywhere...unite their efforts--world war can be successfully averted."

"Errata," Political Affairs,
April, 1957, p. 64.

II. DOMESTIC ISSUES

1. Current prosperity, based on "production for war," is characterized by "poverty in the midst of plenty."
2. Military appropriations and "extortionate super-profits" are responsible for inflation.
3. Taxes of the low-income group should be reduced.
4. Military appropriations should be reduced, and the savings should be used to initiate an expanded program of social welfare.
5. Sentiment in favor of a "return to the Bill of Rights" is gaining strength.
6. The present policy of the United States Department of State with regard to issuing passports denies Americans the right to travel.
7. Criticism between communist parties should be based on "fraternal and equal relations" and on the realization that "the fundamental conflict of all peoples is with the forces of imperialism."
8. The Communist Party, USA, strives to cooperate with other socialist-oriented groups.
9. A broad socialist coalition, based on Marxist principles, should be organized.
10. The formation of an antimonopoly coalition, which would "pave the way to significant social advance," is the "main strategic task."
11. Socialism can be achieved "in a relatively peaceful manner" through the "conscious struggle" of the working class.
12. The Communist Party, USA, advocates an American road to socialism.
13. The Communist Party, USA, formulates its policies independently.
14. The Communist Party, USA, is based on Marxism-Leninism, "a scientific analysis of the universal and objective laws of social development."

15. Democratic centralism should be based on "conviction and not command."
16. The Communist Party, USA, as "a legitimate current in American life," can make a "vital contribution" to the future of socialism in the United States.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Prosperity

"One-fifth of a nation suffers poverty in the midst of plenty; one family in five earns less than \$2,000 a year -- that is, less than \$40 a week. Among Negro families, the proportion is more than two in five. Ten million American children live in slums. In the midst of the boom, the country is dotted with distressed areas and 'sick' industries, plagued by high unemployment."

Daily Worker,
February 14, 1957, p. 5.

"It is an economy, too, whose prosperity is based largely on production for war, that most treacherous of economic quicksands. Such an economy can only lead to an H-bomb war that will wipe out the human race, or to another depression."

The Worker,
February 17, 1957, p. 7.

"As in the twenties, the current boom has once again given rise to illusions of permanent prosperity. Crises, say the spokesmen of big business and the Eisenhower Administration, are a thing of the past..."

"But such Wall Street-inspired illusions are entirely unfounded..."

Daily Worker,
February 14, 1957, p. 4.

"Capitalist economy, with all its new features, remains subject to internal contradictions which impose an alternating cycle of booms and crises. Wars, armaments, and the lesser forms of intervention characteristic of state monopoly capitalism affect the timing of this sequence substantially, but cannot conjure it out of existence."

The Worker,
January 27, 1957, p. 7.

"An H-bomb war, or a depression that will make your hair curl. Such are the alternatives the spokesmen of capitalism hold out for us. Life would not be worth living any more, if no third alternative existed. That alternative, of course, is socialism.

"... Capitalism always leads to war and depression. Socialism leads to creative labor and creative peace...."

The Worker,
March 10, 1957, p. 9.

2. Inflation

"The President's main emphasis on domestic questions was a fear of the rising menace of inflation. And the stress was particularly on wage increases as the cause. He had only the usual employer-line argument that wage increases should be conditioned on higher productivity.

"But while the worker is effectively tied down to this limit, because it is the employer who does the paying and the government is at his side, the President's advice to industry is only 'self-discipline' and restraint on 'unnecessary' price increases. A lot of attention that advice will get among the corporation executives!

"The President's argument, strictly in line with employer thought, is also supposed to take care of the tax issue. If the average small-income family gets some tax relief and has a few more dollars to spend, that, too, would be boosting inflation, we are told. The President had nothing to say of the pressure for extortionate super-profits as the real cause of inflation...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
January 14, 1957, p. 5.

"Nothing is said, however, of the real inflationary influence--in the tens of billions poured out yearly for military purposes that are of absolutely no use to the people. Nothing is said of the tremendous superprofits the big corporations extract through those lush government contracts. And it is these extra-high profit levels that set the 'norm' for the entire economy, including its high prices."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
February 15, 1957, p. 4.

3. Taxes

"Shortly after Eisenhower took office, the Cadillac Cabinet and the GOP-Dixiecrat alliance in Congress voted tax relief for the corporations and billionaires. But to this date not a cent has been taken off the tax bills of 90 percent of the American people. On the contrary, local taxes have gone up."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
February 7, 1957, p. 5.

"...If anyone wants an example of 'class' legislation, the present tax laws are it. When you see how the tax load has shifted, and the idea of the income tax perverted, you realize that robbery is not too harsh a word to apply to the treatment of the workers and other low-income groups."

"OF COURSE, when one adds the huge amounts in sales taxes ...it is estimated that this year about \$41 1/2 billions will come from low-income groups, and only about \$33 billions from the rich...."

"But because of an increase in \$2 billions in arms spending for the next year, Eisenhower has clamped down on any tax cuts. He is demanding that reductions in certain consumer taxes, planned for April 1 of this year, be cancelled."

The Worker,
January 20, 1957, p. 13.

"...Where is the labor pressure on Congress to raise the individual income tax exemptions and plug loopholes of the wealthy, demands which made some headway in the previous session?"

The Worker,
February 24, 1957, p. 11.

4. Federal Social Welfare Program

"THE PRESIDENT's state of the union message, acclaimed as one of the shortest on record, has been notably short on things for the welfare of the people. Basically it was a restatement of a policy for continuing the cold war and a reaffirmation of the elementary fact that if more billions are to go for military and other cold war objectives, there is little that the people can hope to get in the way of advancement in education, health, job security, expansion of social benefits and a relaxation of the tensions that affect the lives of every family."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
January 14, 1957, p. 5.

"The main immediate aim of the Wall Street budget-cutters is to slash federal welfare appropriations.

"This three-way campaign of: tax revision for the rich, hobbling the labor movement, and cutting federal welfare appropriations, warrants immediate popular resistance.

"There is ample opportunity in the federal budget for the cuts that millions of people are demanding. That is in the war appropriations which have been swollen to interstellar figures, not for a better defense of the nation, but for the greater gain of the arms profiteers."

Editorial, The Worker,
March 17, 1957, p. 4.

5. Civil Liberties

"...But after 10 years during which a 'security' dragnet has been steadily widened, the idea that a person's thoughts, associations, reading

habits or relatives must be checked and doublechecked has become ingrained in our 'American way of life.' "

Daily Worker,
February 22, 1957, p. 5.

"... A powerful potential for a return to the Bill of Rights has been building up....

"That great potential, expressing the finest democratic feelings of the American people for democratic liberties and civil rights, has not yet been translated into active movement for an end to thought-control prosecutions, harassment of trade unionists and deportation of the foreign-born. To merge the great developing movement for civil rights in the South and this great potential for civil liberties throughout the nation will be the sure guarantee that the nation will once more return to the Bill of Rights."

The Worker,
January 13, 1957, p. 4.

6. State Department Passport Policy

"INFLUENTIAL VOICES for both working newspapermen and their publishers have been quick to recognize that the federal government's threatening gestures at the three American reporters now in China are a threat to the freedom of the press."

"The government's injunction against reporting the news from China was bad enough. Its threat to seize both the passports and the personal property of the offending journalists upon their return is beneath contempt. It is the action of an arrogant bully who believes the rules he imposes on others are beyond the public's capacity to alter.

"Yet the courts have several times of late issued sharp rebukes to the State Department and its highhanded, star-chamber methods of denying Americans the right to travel.

"The present instance is a significant extension of the State Department's usurpation of the power to deprive Americans of the right to travel freely.

"Until now, the government has used its power primarily against such radical spokesmen as Paul Robeson. And, as is so often the sad case, too many liberals and conservatives failed to heed the warning....

"...the government's encroachment on the freedom of the press and the freedom to travel should be vigorously combatted."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
January 4, 1957, p. 5.

7. Relations with Other Communist Parties

"...Mutual criticism is beneficial and most useful when exercised on the basis of fraternal and equal relations between the respective Communist Parties."

"Our Resolution also clarifies our concept of relations among working class parties. 'These relations must be based on the principles of scientific socialism, on proletarian internationalism, they must be based on each Communist Party serving the best national interests of its people and thereby the common interests of all progressive humanity. This requires the equality and independence of Marxist parties in the mutual discussion and resolution of common problems; the right and duty of the Communists of all countries to engage in comradely criticism of the policies and practices of the Communists of any country whenever they feel this necessary. This will strengthen, not weaken, international solidarity. It will advance the cause of socialism in all countries.' "

Daily Worker,
March 6, 1957, p. 7.

"New problems of relations have arisen as a result of the emergence of socialism as a world system comprising a number of national states in place of one encircled socialist country. Serious mistakes and shortcomings in the relations between the USSR and other socialist states--as in the examples of Poland and Hungary--have been revealed. . . . Correction of errors in relationships between socialist states is facilitated by the fact that the fundamental basis of such relations is common ideology, common aims, mutual assistance and cooperation.

"International working-class solidarity includes the right and responsibility to friendly criticism of brother parties or the actions of socialist governments. At the same time it requires that such criticism shall be within the framework of recognition that the fundamental conflict of all peoples is with the forces of imperialism."

"On the Main Draft Resolution,"
Political Affairs, March, 1957, p. 19.

8. Relations with Other Socialist Groups

"... The ideological differences that divide the Social Democrats from the Communists remain fundamental and numerous. . . ."

"Our new approach however, is not based on these differences. It is dictated by new possibilities and paramount needs, despite these differences. While we should develop the most thorough and friendly discussion on all questions, including ideological differences, trying to find basic agreement where and with whom we can, it is on the basis of the vital issues now confronting the workers and their allies that we must strive to find the basis for unity. In this way life itself will contribute towards dissolving or resolving many differences which discussion alone will not achieve. And even where differences remain, we must learn to disagree in a new way. We must not take the position that we have all the answers and have nothing to learn. This includes all questions, theoretical, political and organizational.

"We should look upon the Social Democratic organizations, including their elected leaders as workers' organizations. We must deal with these organizations, fraternally, and not as enemies. **WE STRIVE FOR THEIR COOPERATION, NOT LIQUIDATION.**"

Daily Worker,
February 13, 1957, p. 5.

9. Broad Socialist Coalition

"...Our country, the people, the working class of the United States need such a Marxist organization. And when there is developed in the United States a broader, united socialist organization, it will also be a Marxist organization. It is not a reformist, Social-Democratic organization that we have in mind when we speak of the eventual emergence of such a broader Marxist party."

"...It is possible to make certain concessions here and there to people who are not yet fully clear, especially if this may be necessary to achieve a broader Marxist Party. But what we strive for is a Marxist party based on a common ideology and on the recognition that reformism and Marxism are not identical in ideology. We have to be clear on that...."

A CP Sub-Committee Report, "On Social Democracy in the U.S.," Political Affairs, January, 1957, pp. 15-16, 17.

10. Antimonopoly Coalition

"General agreement has also been expressed on the... estimate that conditions are maturing which will make possible the crystallization of an anti-monopoly coalition led by labor, embracing wide strata of trade unionists, farmers, the Negro people, small businessmen, scientists and cultural workers.

"For the coming period this is the main strategic task, the concrete way to curb the monopolies, effect a new democratic political alignment, and pave the way to significant social advance."

Eugene Dennis, "Keynote Address," Political Affairs, March, 1957, p. 6.

"...The Party now places the struggle for an anti-monopoly coalition as its main strategic aim... And from such a coalition which could break the power of the traditional enemies of the American people--the monopolies--it believes the American people could advance in a constitutional, democratic and peaceful transition to socialism."

Editorial, "The Communist Party Convention," Political Affairs, April, 1957, p. 5.

11. Peaceful Road to Socialism

"In our conception of the peaceful and constitutional road to Socialism, the transformation of parliament into a real people's parliament is necessary. We view this as occurring on the basis of the struggle of the working class and its allies, which creates the conditions to make such a majority possible, which creates the climate where other classes can be affected, won over, or neutralized. We see the possibilities of containing or restraining violence on the part of the bourgeoisie--which will never like the situation--through the strong movements which will bring into being the conditions for this peaceful transition and which will enforce it by strength, by its vigilance, by its fight for this goal...."

"... Socialism still represents, no matter how it will be achieved, a radical transformation of society, a leap. We know that it is the working class that will be the leading force in this transformation; it will not be handed to us by the imperialists, who will say, 'Well, we had enough already and let somebody else take over.' We know that the struggles of the people, of the working class will precede, create the conditions for the peaceful constitutional path to Socialism. And the peoples' struggle will support the legal, constitutional steps in that direction."

A CP Sub-Committee Report, "On Social Democracy in the U. S.," Political Affairs, January, 1957, pp. 9, 18.

"... Bourgeois democracy never 'transform itself' in a direction favorable to the workers. It is transformed by the workers' conscious struggle. The whole history of the world labor movement illustrates this elementary fact. Nor, in any case, has capitalism, even under such pressure as the Social Democrats have been able to generate, ever 'transformed itself' into socialism.... The only socialism in the world is that in the countries led by Communists.

"If the capitalist world now offers increased opportunities for the workers to secure socialism along parliamentary lines, this is because,

on the one hand, there has been a gigantic increase in the strength of the world's democratic and socialist forces during recent years, particularly in the communist-led countries of Socialism, and on the other hand, a profound weakening of the power of the world capitalist system. This basic change in the relationship of international class forces is making it possible for the workers and their allies to develop and to hold the democratic processes intact, as against real or potential capitalist violence, so as to enable them to achieve socialism along parliamentary channels and in a relatively peaceful manner...."

William Z. Foster, "Communication
CONCERNING EDWARD KARDELJ'S
ARTICLE," Mainstream, February,
1957, p. 55.

"...socialism can be established only through a radical and fundamental extension of American democracy and a revolutionary transformation of all property relations, and... ALL roads to Socialism are roads of mass struggle, waged under the leadership of the working class and its Marxist vanguard...."

Daily Worker,
February 13, 1957, p. 5.

12. American Road to Socialism

"...practically every Communist Party in the world now proclaims its own specific national road to Socialism. The XXth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in February of last year, put its stamp of approval upon this flexibility in developing the socialist program of Marxism-Leninism in the various lands in accordance with the changing national and world situations...."

William Z. Foster, "Communication
CONCERNING EDWARD KARDELJ'S
ARTICLE," Mainstream, February,
1957, p. 54.

"... While American Marxists welcome the opinions of Marxists everywhere, they will find their own path through study and participation in the labor movement."

Daily Worker,
February 6, 1957, p. 7.

"With regard to new roads to Socialism, we know that we will have to find the American road and it is impossible to predict everything today. We already did project, however, the need and the possibility of developing the anti-monopoly coalition as the next strategic task and we see this as one of the important steps in the direction towards that goal which we Marxists have...."

A CP Sub-Committee Report; "On
Social Democracy in the U. S.,"
Political Affairs, January, 1957, p. 17.

13. Communist Independence

"We should carefully study all criticism and opinions, as we, in a fully responsible way, criticize others, but no opinions from elsewhere can determine our policy.

"Only those policies which arise out of our own interpretation and application of our Marxist-Leninist scientific principles to the needs and interests of the American working class and people can be valid for us."

Daily Worker,
February 14, 1957, p. 2.

"The myth that Communists here take orders from abroad has never been so devastatingly shattered as in the year since the Khrushchev revelations. Even some of the most devout propagators of the myth have acknowledged the independent thinking and independent decisions of American Communists."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
February 5, 1957, p. 5.

14. Validity of Marxism-Leninism

"Marxism-Leninism is a scientific analysis of the universal and objective laws of social development. It is the generalization of the experience of the working class of each country and of all lands, and like all science, is an international product. The principles of scientific socialism were first put forward by Marx and Engels. They were further developed in the imperialist era by Lenin. They were later enriched by contemporary Marxists in many countries...."

"On the Main Draft Resolution,"
Political Affairs, March, 1957, p. 17.

"The Communist Party bases its theory generally on the democratic heritage of mankind and particularly on the principles of scientific socialism as developed by Karl Marx, Frederick Engels and V. I. Lenin. These universally valid principles, the Communist Party of the U.S.A. interprets, applies and strives to develop further in accordance with the requirements of the American class struggle, democratic traditions and customs."

Editorial, "The Communist Party
Convention," Political Affairs,
April, 1957, p. 4.

15. Democratic Centralism

"The classic objective of democratic centralism is a maximum of unity of action based on the will of the membership. In substance, this presupposes a flexible, a dialectic unity of opposites....there is no contradiction between the classic objective of democratic centralism and the new departures from past practices called for by the new Constitution. *

"Democratic centralism has been defined as 'a flexible system of party organization which guarantees all the conditions for combining the

*Underlined words are italicized in the original text.

conscious and active participation of the whole Party membership in Party life together with the best forms of centralized leadership in the activity and struggles of the Party and the working class. ' "

"We have got to get at the substance of the question--which means uprooting bureaucratic practices that have become systematized, encrusted and hallowed by tradition. Which means guaranteeing full democracy at every level of the Party. Which means a recognition that unity is not conformity, that discipline is not obedience, that effective action flows from conviction and not command. "

Fred M. Fine, "On the Draft Constitution,"
Political Affairs, March, 1957, pp. 26-27.

16. Future of American Communism

"...The American working class needs a party of Socialism. It needs our Communist Party--a party that bases itself on the experiences of the working class movement, on its science of Marxism-Leninism. "

Daily Worker,
March 8, 1957, p. 3.

"THE COMMUNIST Party opens its four-day national convention in this city tomorrow. This is the first such gathering since December, 1950, a date that preceded by a few months the imprisonment of the Communist leaders and the high point of the Cold War and anti-American McCarthyism. "

"The very interest aroused by the convention is itself a sign that socialism has a future in America. It is also a tribute to the vitality of the self-examination to which the Communist Party has been subjecting itself in its efforts to chart an American road to socialism and root itself in American life and tradition."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
February 8, 1957, p. 5.

"Whatever one's views, the Communist Party, the largest organized group of Americans who believe in socialism, is a legitimate current in American life. We believe that American workers, the American people generally, as they become better acquainted with what Communists stand for, will welcome the vital contribution they can make in the battle for a better America and a better world."

Editorial, The Worker,
February 17, 1957, p. 4.

III. LABOR AND INDUSTRY

1. The "giveaways" of the Republican Administration are designed to promote the interests of "big business."
2. Excess profits, rather than wage increases, are responsible for higher prices.
3. The hearings on racketeering in labor unions are based on "anti-unionism."
4. "Big Business" is intensifying its attacks on the labor movement.
5. The "anti-labor smear publicity" is being used to promote the passage of "right-to-work" laws in the various states.
6. Continued efforts to restrict the political activities of the labor movement may result in the formation of an "independent political organization of the workers."
7. Shorter hours and higher wages are needed to cope with the problems raised by increased automation.
8. Federal legislation which would increase the minimum wage to \$1.25 per hour is needed.
9. The labor movement should prepare to organize a campaign for a shorter work week.
10. The weakness of organized labor in the Southern States is "a drag" on the entire labor movement.
11. Labor unity, including "the left," would revive the "constructive relationship" which proved so effective in former years.

12. Communists do not attempt to "capture or control" the labor movement.
13. Socialism is "the only basic answer" to the problems of American workers.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Republican Administration Is Pro-Big Business

"The chief beneficiaries of the boom have been the giant trusts and monopolies....

"The monopolies have continued to grow and to become ever more powerful. Today, the 500 largest industrial corporations account for about half of all production and employment. These giants rake in the lion's share of the profits. In the first quarter of 1956, profits per dollar of sales for the biggest companies (those with assets of \$100, 000, 000 or more) were nearly five times those of the smaller companies (with assets under \$250, 000). And under the Cadillac Cabinet, with its giveaways and its policies favoring big business, mergers are taking place at a higher rate than ever before.

"The enormous profits of the trusts are obtained at the expense of the workers, the small farmers and small business. Though real wages are rising, they have not kept pace with the rise in productivity or the still greater growth of corporate profits, and the worker's share in his product thus continues to decline."

Daily Worker,
February 14, 1957, p. 5.

"President Eisenhower and the Cadillac Cabinet are waging another kind of war at home, while they threaten the East. This home front war is against the American working people--not Russia, Egypt, or China. It's chief 'enemy' is the trade union movement, with its 16 million members. And its objective is the 'open shop,' where the boss can do as he wills."

The Worker,
April 14, 1957, p. 7.

2. Excess Profits Cause Price Increases

"While the breadwinner groans in his effort to pay the grocery, rent and service bills, inflationary pressures continue to undermine the entire economy. Big Business is quick to lay the blame on wage-increases... while it maintains a mealy-mouthed silence on its unprecedented dividends that dwarf wages as an inflationary factor."

Editorial, The Worker,
March 31, 1957, p. 4.

"The fact that there is a limit to how much you can squeeze does not deter the money-mad kings of business one bit. They are on a binge that will take more and more out of the consumers until the nation's economy is disrupted."

Editorial, The Worker,
March 3, 1957, p. 4.

"Last week we gave a sampling of the profits the big corporations are reporting for 1956. The level is even higher than the all-time record of 1955.

"Those figures give the lie to the claims of the steel companies and others, that they had to raise prices to cover new labor costs. Those figures clearly prove the corporations used the new wage contracts as only an excuse for extorting still more through prices. Those figures also show why the corporations are so determined to prevent an investigation of the relation between prices, wages and profits.

"The labor movement, however, should be all the more determined to force such investigation by an authoritative and objective congressional body."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
February 5, 1957, p. 5.

3. Labor Racketeering

"Sensational publicity accompanying the current hearings of the Senate Committee on racketeering headed by Senator McClellan has created widespread expectation among some union members and the public generally that the Senate body may help to cleanse the unions of corruption."

"The racketeering probes cannot be relied upon by the labor movement to do much because, in the first place, they do not go into the fundamentals of the racketeering evil nor its roots in the capitalist system. In the second place, most of these hearings, as in the current case, are mainly sponsored and used by those who, as the Textile Workers Union of America said, are more interested in 'a dead' labor movement than a 'clean one.'"

"How can anyone in labor or any well-intentioned person expect a constructive objective from Senators McCarthy, Mundt and Goldwaer, members of the committee and outstanding foes of labor and witch-hunters who have shouted the loudest for scrapping of the Bill of Rights and the rights of unions to engage in political action?..."

"Thus, the primary and overriding fact that every union, unionist and others constructively-minded should recognize, is that behind the Senate hearings is anti-unionism. It should be fully exposed for what it is* to all members of unions and the American people as a whole."

*This probably should read "it is."

"The effectiveness of labor's effort to beat back the designs of its enemies through the Senate hearings, will depend on the extent to which the leaders and rank and file themselves undertake to clean out the racketeers from their midst. That is the only real alternative to the 'remedies' advanced by the foes of labor."

"The basic antidote to racketeering and the widespread 'unethical' practices in the labor movement, is elimination of bureaucracy and the establishment of full democracy within the union and rank and file control over its policies as well as finances. And no less important is the fact that if the racketeering collusion between employers and some union officials at the expense of the workers is to be wiped out, so must collaboration between employers and unions be wiped out as a policy. Class-collaboration 'business unionism' is at the base of much of the 'unethical' collaboration."

"It should be equally clear, however, that expulsion of unions infested with racketeers is, as the textile union said 'a cure that is worse than the disease.' The AFL-CIO has a responsibility to the many hundreds of thousands of members in the unions influenced by racketeers. Those members expect help to rid their unions of racketeers, not help to the union-busters who want to see the labor movement split and weakened. They want help to establish democracy and to get a rank and file movement under way in those unions."

"Bowling to the anti-labor drive and the Senate hearings that spearhead it; expulsions that weaken and divide labor; casting overboard the Bill of Rights, long labor's protective armour; --this is not the way to meet the racketeering issue. A twin drive by labor, based primarily on

arousing and mobilizing the rank and file itself to clean up the unions and an all-out counter-drive on the legislative front, can meet the problem."

Daily Worker,
March 28, 1957, pp. 4, 5.

4. Attacks on Labor Movement

"...The National Association of Manufacturers threatens a new drive on labor's political and economic rights...."

National Committee, CPUSA, "Facing the
85th Congress," Political Affairs,
January, 1957, p. 1.

"Big Business is definitely gaining in its drive to picture unionism to the public as a 'dirty business' and a 'monopoly.'"

"The labor movement is on the defensive."

"Moreover, the foes of labor expect to sidetrack labor-favored legislation this year, including minimum wage improvements and even the mild reforms in the Taft-Hartley Law the Administration itself says it favors. The enemies of labor also hope to put over other measures on the crest of anti-union hysteria...."

"So far there has been little indication of a new look in labor ranks on this whole question. There is still no evidence the leaders feel the situation is serious."

The Worker,
March 10, 1957, pp. 1, 13.

5. "Right-to-Work" Laws

"ADVOCATES of the misnamed 'right-to-work' law have long had their eyes on the industrial north, main base of trade union strength. The seventeen states that have the 'right-to-scab' laws barring the union shop are mainly in the south and in some areas with either little industry or little population. But the foes of labor have at last scored the victory they long sought with passage of their bill in Indiana, first important industrial state in the north to do so."

"The current anti-labor smear publicity based on the racketeering hearings, will not clean out a single racketeer from union ranks. But they are helping the anti-unionists swing legislative votes for 'right-to-scab' bills and other such measures."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
March 4, 1957, p. 5.

"THERE IS TALK of a Federal Right to Work Law to be recommended by the McClellan Committee as a result of the disclosures about the Teamsters' Union officials. The employers are in high hopes of putting Right to Work laws across in other industrial states."

Daily Worker,
March 8, 1957, p. 4.

6. Labor's Political Activity

"...The Republicans, infuriated by their failure to win Congress even though Eisenhower drew a sweeping majority, are more anxious than ever to curb the political activity of labor--the best organized opposition to them."

"The drive to reduce labor activity to 'pure and simple' unionism, drained of any social or political outlook, goes hand-in-hand with the drive for more 'right-to-work' laws particularly in the industrial north. The success of the 'right-to-workers' in Indiana has fired the foes of labor with fresh jubilation.

"IT SHOULD also be evident that the main line of approach of the foes of labor aims at isolating the labor movement from its natural allies in the communities--from the farmers, small business and other middle-class people, the white collar and professional workers. The technique is to smear labor, to discourage association with it or support of its political and legislative objectives."

"Even the myopic can now see that the effort to deprive unions of the right to political action began years ago with laws barring the first right--the right to be Communists or friends of Communists. Then came the ban on union funds for political purposes on the ground that such is 'class' political action--a Marxist idea.

"Many of our union leaders thought they were doing their organizations and members a favor by submitting to those first infringements on political rights. Now they are justifiably complaining that they are being 'paid off' with an effort to ban all political action by unions. But there is no more room left for retreat--not if labor is to retain effectiveness and self-respect."

Daily Worker,
March 13, 1957, pp. 5,7.

"LAST YEAR George Meany delivered several speeches in which he warned the foes of labor if they continue in their campaign to make it impossible for the unions to engage in political action in the manner they do now, labor may be forced, however reluctantly, to form a labor party....

"The trend of which Meany complained has not abated. The process has been hastened in the past year, especially in recent weeks...."

"If the enemy succeeds in barring union funds or 'anything of value' for campaigns of 'friends of labor,' the labor movement may be forced, as Meany warned, to turn its attention to an independent political organization of the workers and its allies."

The Worker,
March 24, 1957, p. 7.

7. Automation

"CAN these astonishing new electronic machines really think? Offhand, the question might seem to some as not really resious, as a matter for the more fanciful science-fiction writers. But since some quite important scientists in the field seem to be answering 'Yes,' the question can't be brushed aside so lightly.

"Besides, the question has its implications, too, for the working man and woman...."

"...automatic machine tools are already performing very successfully, without a machinist, some very intricate series of operations to make complete parts. The procedure is entirely controlled by a computer which receives instructions from a punched tape. As an additional refinement, it is now possible for the computer to 'scan' or read the blueprints itself, and go ahead to give the proper set-up and operating procedure to the machine tool."

"But the working people do take into account the lessons of history and of daily experience, in their everyday 'materialist' existence. Hence they are greeting the advent of automation and the computer technology in their own proper style.

"They are organizing conferences to study automation and its effects. They are demanding training programs. They are asking for shorter hours and higher pay. They are insisting on study of the peaceful uses of atomic energy and government control of its development."

The Worker,
March 17, 1957, pp. 8, 9.

8. Minimum Wage

"There are a total of some 20,000,000 workers in the U. S. who are neither organized into unions nor covered by the Federal minimum wage law.

"As AFL-CIO spokesmen have pointed out, most of these families exist in poverty at a time when the nation is boasting of unprecedented prosperity.

"Of this total, about half do not come under the jurisdiction of Congress because they are employed in intra-state commerce, by small business firms or as hired hands on small farms. These workers are subject to state laws, most of which offer little or no protection at all."

Daily Worker,
March 27, 1957, p. 3.

"We need a stronger minimum wage law--expanded to cover more workers and increased to the long overdue \$1.25. We need a Congressional investigation of the relation of wages to profits and prices, which labor has been demanding, as a step towards fighting inflation, or the minimum wage will depreciate even further as effective protection to workers.

"Remembering what it took the last time labor scored some improvements in the minimum wage, unions and other people's organizations

had better start building up steam now for a military campaign to make its influence felt. "

Editorial, Daily Worker,
February 26, 1957, p. 5.

9. Shorter Work Week

"This May Day, in an era of vastly greater industrial expansion, the workers of our country confront a different problem -- how to secure their jobs in the face of ever-growing automation. And they project, as the necessary solution, a period of struggle for a new historic goal -- the shorter work week. "

.

"...The fight will be hard and bitter; for there is no demand which employers resist more strongly than a shorter work week. But it is now a winning demand, historically necessary, and the struggle for its attainment... will surely succeed in establishing a new norm for American industry. "

Daily Worker,
April 29, 1957, p. 5.

"Recent hearings before the Joint Congressional Committee on the Economic Report of the President, brought out a tremendous amount of material, especially in steel and auto manufacture, bearing out the seriousness of the textile union's warning--that increased productivity is making a shorter workweek imperative. The big question before the labor movement is how to develop the campaign for the shorter workweek, and support of a bill now before Congress, on a general scale, to reach the millions of Americans for it and win the needed support. "

Daily Worker,
March 18, 1957, p. 5.

"Unfortunately, many workers are not yet 'sold' on the shorter workweek. They don't as yet feel that the possibility of a cut in hours without a cut in pay is really on the bargaining table.... This is understandable. Workers are weighed down by debts. They are hungry for overtime; extra jobs and some even hold down two jobs. One in every three in the labor force today is a woman, and the trend for a second breadwinner, or a third, continues.

"...A shorter workweek will impress him only if he is given a realistic outlook of winning it without a cut in his weekly earnings. It will take a lot of education in the trade union movement to build up the kind of movement for the shorter week that is needed to make the fight for it a reality."

The Worker,
March 3, 1957, p. 3.

10. Organizing the Unorganized

"UNIONS in the United States realize now that unless the South is organized, the low wages paid to Negro women and to Negro men will continue to serve as a drag upon other wages. The unions realize that factories are escaping from the unionized North to the non-unionized South."

"Unless the South is organized the Northern unions are threatened, and unless Negro workers in the South are organized along with whites any unions in that section cannot be successful."

The Worker,
March 10, 1957, p. 7.

11. Labor Unity

"...the trade-union resolution concludes with a listing of the reasons why Communists are needed among the workers:

"For their conscious participation in the daily struggles; for their ability to help draw lessons from each battle and to help chart the course ahead--for an anti-monopoly coalition of labor, the farmers and the Negro people; for their unreserved position on the side of the workers in the class struggle; for their conviction of the identity of interest of the workers of our country with the workers of others; for their profound belief in the desirability and the inevitability of a socialist transformation of our country."

Fred M. Fine, "On the Draft Constitution,"
Political Affairs, March, 1957, p. 25.

"WE ON OUR PART in the Daily Worker and Worker have worked for some years to bring the left back into the main stream and towards a positive perspective...for some years, especially since the Eisenhower administration took over in 1952, and the auto convention that followed some months later, the trade union policy of this paper has been for a shift of the left's face towards the 'center,' for a revival of the constructive relationship that once conquered America's open-shop centers.

"We have worked for the merger in line with that perspective for labor. Today there aren't many in the left who question the policy of working with the 'main stream.' But many are still pessimistic...because it is not easy to develop the forms of activity and relations in unions headed by hostile leaders.

"But it is far more important to see that rank and file activities are developing in a number of unions on a greater scale than has been evident for some time, and progressives are finding ways to overcome hostility. And it can be expected that following the convention of the Communist Party and a revival of its influence and activity (greatly curtailed by its internal discussion) the work of progressives in the labor movement will reach a still higher level."

The Worker,
January 20, 1957, p. 14.

12. Relations with the Labor Movement

"It is not the policy of the Communist Party to interfere with, 'bore from within,' or to seek to capture or control the trade unions. We reject any allegation that this is our policy. We respect the complete political and organizational independence of the trade unions and other organizations of the working class. We Communists seek to influence the organized workers by persuasion, discussion, and example, as we do any other section of the population."

Fred M. Fine, "On the Draft Constitution,"
Political Affairs, March, 1957, p. 25.

13. Workers Need Socialism

"The age of automation and the atom, with its great promise, stands in glaring contradiction to widespread poverty, to inadequate educational and health facilities and to growing insecurity and fear of the future. But to fulfill the promise of plenty which automation and atomic energy hold forth will require concerted struggle by labor and its allies against the big monopolies. In the course of such struggles, if Communists and other socialist-minded Americans work effectively, the working people of this country can achieve a fuller understanding of the need for a socialist economy as the only basic answer to their problems."

Daily Worker,
February 14, 1957, p. 7.

IV. AGRICULTURE

1. There is "deep dissatisfaction" among the farmers.
2. The farmers who work small farms are being forced off them by "big agriculture" and the Republican Administration.
3. The Republican Administration is placing the blame for the plight of the farmers on the labor movement.
4. A long-range program of increased aid to farmers is necessary.
5. The labor movement should offer its support to the farmers.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Dissatisfaction among Farmers

"THE SQUEEZE on the farmer is tightening--contrary to the happy predictions of Secretary of Agriculture Benson. From Jan. 15 to Feb. 15 the prices received by farmers dropped two percent. Prices for goods they must buy rose almost one (0.7) percent. As a result, farm parity, the ratio of prices farmers get to the prices they must pay--fell in mid-February to its lowest point since 1939, the Department of Agriculture announced last week.

"The Feb. 15 parity figure of 80 (compared to 100 for the period 1910-1914) was equalled since 1939--only in November and December 1955, and January 1956."

The Worker,
March 10, 1957, p. 4.

"... A continued failure to meet the precarious position of the small farmer and prolonged drought in some areas leave the farmers in a mood of deep dissatisfaction. . . ."

National Committee, CPUSA, "Facing the 85th Congress," Political Affairs, January, 1957, pp. 1-2.

2. Plight of the Small Farmers

"From 1947 to mid-1956, farm income fell by one-third. In 1955, the Department of Agriculture reports, net farm income was lower than in any year since 1940. The persistent agricultural depression places a heavy economic burden on the shoulders of the small marginal and family-sized farm operators, and the outbreak of a general crisis would have a catastrophic effect on the small farmers. For never before was the agricultural economy so closely bound up with the country's industrial and financial life, and never was it under such sharp pressure from monopoly."

Daily Worker,
February 14, 1957, pp. 4-5.

"... big agriculture should be curbed to prevent it from driving the family farmers off the land. From 1950 to 1954 more than 600 thousand farmers have folded up and moved to town."

The Worker,
February 3, 1957, p. 11.

"The Administration has taken the position that it is necessary to cut out all supports for 'surplus' crop production, to permit farm prices to drop below the cost of production, and thus eliminate millions of small farmers."

The Worker,
February 17, 1957, p. 2.

3. Republican Administration Blames Labor

"The Eisenhower Administration has launched a new attempt to pit farmers and other consumers against labor. The program tries also to pit labor and other consumers against the farmers.

"It carries forward similar previous efforts initiated by the Administration when the economic situation became unsettled."

"Benson... told a Pacific Northwest farm forum in Spokane that labor is responsible for rising prices and for most of the postwar decline in farm income."

"He intimated that labor's greedy gains are responsible not only for the farmers' plight but for the strains that the economy now faces....

"...the bulk of the speech indicated that the main target was labor. Not once did he refer to the extortionate profits which the biggest corporations have been extracting from the economy."

The Worker,
February 17, 1957, p. 2.

4. Increased Aid to Farmers Is Necessary

"THE drought is now six years old and spreads over 19 states. It is several times larger than the Dust Bowl of the 30s...."

"President Eisenhower's flight over Kansas, Colorado, New Mexico, Oklahoma and Texas, is strictly a publicity stunt. There is no lack of existing programs to alleviate the situation on a long-term basis."

"With government stocks of surplus feed grains at record levels, the possibility exists for the Department of Agriculture to supply them to the ranchers and farmers with cheap feed.

"During the past 20 years there has been much debate and little action by Congress on the drought situation.

"A long succession of capable committees has recommended large-scale building of dams and other water projects to control and conserve the water resources of the Plains. These proposals have been blocked by the big public utility corporations whose power in Washington is great."

The Worker,
January 13, 1957, p. 13.

"EVERYWHERE the President went he was confronted with pleas for Federal help in building new conservation projects that would trap flood waters in the spring to save them for the hot summer months.

"He responded, however, with the pledge that 'everyone will do his best,' and congratulated his audience on its 'chins up attitude.' Current administration policy, however, is dead set against adequate appropriations for water conservation projects."

The Worker,
January 27, 1957, p. 5.

5. Farmers Need Support

"The drought, the price support program, soil conservation and all the many facets of the agricultural problem is the problem of all of our citizens. The farmers are unable to solve their problems by themselves. For this reason labor must be concerned. By throwing its weight into the fight in behalf of the farmers labor can help win its natural allies as well as taking precautionary measures that the national food supply will not dwindle."

The Worker,
February 3, 1957, p. 11.

V. COLONIALISM

1. The colonial revolution is a major factor in the struggle for peaceful coexistence.
2. The United States supports colonialism.
3. The Soviet Union opposes colonialism.
4. The liberation movement in Africa must be accelerated.
5. The United States has given "moral, political and military support to the colonial suppression of Algeria."
6. Cuba remains "a semi-colony of the United States."
7. The emergence of Ghana as an independent state is an indication that the struggle against imperialism will eventually be successful.
8. The United States dominates Latin America to promote the interests of "American monopoly."
9. The United States is increasing its economic domination over Mexico.
10. The United States exercises "predominant control" over the Philippine Islands.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Colonial Revolution

"Today the tide of nationalism is higher than it has ever been in the modern world. . . ."

"... For nationalism and national independence are the slogans of the vast colonial revolution of the peoples of Asia and Africa."

Nemmy Sparks, "Anna Louise Strong's
'The Stalin Era,' " Political Affairs,
January, 1957, p. 23.

"Given the circumstances of today, this movement of anti-colonialism becomes a major factor for peace and for peaceful coexistence."

Daily Worker,
January 14, 1957, p. 4.

2. American Imperialism

"UNITED STATE foreign policy today, with all its pretensions of moral principles and defense of the 'free world,' is really a direct descendant of that of the colonial plunderers of the 19th Century. 'Foreign aid' spending in the billions is needed to bribe, subvert, arm, agents of present-day colonialism, and to throw additional loot in the path of the billionaire beneficiaries of the policy who get the concessions. All this is at the expense of the American public, financially and morally, and with grave risks to world peace."

The Worker,
March 24, 1957, p. 14.

"It is oil interests that the USA seeks to protect in the Middle East. It is concerned with the profits of American monopolies and not with human rights. It is the interests of American fruit companies, rubber barons, copper kings, Bauxite magnates that brings it to interfere in Puerto Rico, Brazil, Chile, Venezuela and points South where the American 'Empire' lies, rather than human rights.

"The retardation of the political, economic and cultural life of peoples protected by American military is well known. . . ."

Daily Worker,
January 10, 1957, p. 5.

3. USSR Opposes Colonialism

"... The major reason for the Soviet appeal among the Arab lands was the outspoken support by the Soviet Union to the national liberation movement directed against imperialist control and domination in the oil rich region."

The Worker,
February 24, 1957, p. 5.

"... The only great power that has firmly supported the aspirations of the Arab peoples and played such a decisive role in halting the aggression against Egypt -- the Soviet Union -- has emerged from this situation with increased influence and prestige."

The Worker,
January 6, 1957, p. 13.

"... the Soviet leaders, in re-appraising their foreign policy after the death of Stalin, realized they had greatly underestimated the potential of the so-called neutral nations, particularly those fighting for national independence, as a force for peaceful coexistence."

Daily Worker,
January 14, 1957, p. 4.

4. Africa

"ONLY freedom can fully develop Africa, however. Imperialism can never do it. And freedom is coming...."

"... 'Africa for the Africans' is becoming the cry.

"We welcome that cry. America will be safer when others are free. For imperialism brings hatred against the oppressor...."

"Let freedom ring in Africa and at home."

The Worker,
March 31, 1957, p. 3.

"GHANA becomes the eighth state in Africa enjoying political independence under indigenous government, joining Egypt, Ethiopia, Liberia, Libya, the Sudan, Tunisia and Morocco. Together they comprise less than one-quarter of the total area of the continent, and their aggregate population of some seventy-five millions represents about a third of Africa's inhabitants.

"It is evident that the pace of African liberation must be speeded up. Africans everywhere demand it. Ghana's freedom kindles new determination in them. Freedom for all of Africa must come quickly or there will be disastrous consequences."

The Worker,
March 3, 1957, p. 9.

5. Algeria

"THE FACT IS there's a colonial army of half a million in Algeria waging war against a nation determined to have its freedom. The

fighting is complicated by the fact that in the century and a quarter of colonial rule the French have also settled in considerable numbers in Algeria. There are about one million French colonists. Algerians of African origin and Moslem religion, total some 8 million.

"The best land has been taken over by the French colonists. Major investments are French, and Algerian economy is dominated by the invaders. Military and political domination is by the French who exercise a military dictatorship today over the vast Algerian majority. The National Liberation Movement has admittedly won the support of the Algerian people. They are waging a clear-cut fight for self determination."

Daily Worker,
February 1, 1957, p. 5.

"... Americans can only be ashamed that the Eisenhower Administration has given moral, political and military support to the colonial suppression of Algeria. In previous UN sessions we even prevented the discussion of the Algerian issue.

"Now that Algeria is again before the UN, Americans can make it clear that what's good for freedom in Algeria and everywhere else is good for America."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
February 6, 1957, p. 5.

6. Cuba

"FULGENCIO BATISTA was not elected president by the Cuban people. On May 10, 1952, during an election campaign in which he didn't stand a chance, he seized power. He became president by force, and has maintained himself in office since then by force and by force alone. No free election has been held. He appointed men to lead the Cuban Confederation of

Labor, dismissing leaders elected by the workers. No trade union meetings can be held without government permission; and new leaders must likewise be approved by the government.

"This oppression of the Cuban workers and people is aimed to continue Cuba as a source of sugar for United States refineries; assure huge profits for the sugar plantation owners, mostly American; and to keep the United States naval base in Guantanamo, Cuba. Batista's terror against his own people aims to keep Cuba as a semi-colony of the United States."

The Worker,
February 17, 1957, p. 5.

7. Ghana

"ON THE stroke of midnight Wednesday in far-off Africa, a British flag came down and a new black-starred banner of red, green and gold went up the masthead. The colony known as Gold Coast was no more. The independent state of Ghana was born, under the leadership of a man twice imprisoned for fighting for his country."

...
"... The fight against imperialism is in the process of being won. That is the great message of Ghana."

...
"Many millions of Americans, Negro and white, recognizing that this is not just another new country, greet Ghana with deep feeling. We join them in their salute."

Editorial, The Worker,
March 10, 1957, p. 4.

"IMPERIALISM'S apologists will no doubt exploit the occasion of Ghana's elevation to independence to preach about the necessity for an 'orderly process of evolution to self-government' for colonial subjects. But the truth is that Ghana is just one more illustration of the fact that freedom is won only through struggle."

The Worker,
March 3, 1957, p. 8.

8. Latin America

"Billions in Wall Street loot have been invested in the oil and iron wells and mines of Venezuela, the bauxite of Jamaica, copper of Chile, rubber of Brazil, sugar in a host of countries. Through these the course of Empire makes its way protected by the Monroe Doctrine. From these investments tens of billions have been made.

"The overthrow of the legally elected Guatemalan government is only the most recent example of our intervention in the internal affairs of others in this Hemisphere. Who does not recall the inspired Haitian Revolution, those in Mexico and the devision of Colombia as our rulers seized Panama? But these misdeeds are not a manifestation of American morality. They are the essence of the ruthlessness of American monopoly. Morally, this clique is bankrupt."

Daily Worker,
January 15, 1957, p. 4.

"...The 'good partner' policy toward the Latin American countries that President Eisenhower boasts of is actually a partnership with some of the worst fascist dictators in the world in behalf of the Wall Street corporations they serve.

"It's time to stop coddling 'free world' dictators. It's time to let the Latin American peoples choose their own governments free from U.S. intervention...."

Editorial, The Worker,
March 3, 1957, p. 4.

9. Mexico

"THE YEAR 1957 does not look particularly rosy for Mexico. . . .

"Finance capital from the United States is veritably pouring into the country; each year its powerful jaws bite deeper, its hold becomes more secure. . . .

"Every time there is to be a new, large scale investment in Mexico of American monopoly capital, our kept press hails it as a godsend to Mexico's economy. Indeed, some investments are beneficial, but only in one aspect: when the choice lies in some industrial activity that is either in its incipient stages or non-existent. This, however, rarely happens since monopoly capital has an enormous appetite for the proven industries, the more profitable lines of business such as mining.

"WHICHEVER way you look at it, though the mass movement of U.S. capital to Mexico brings on highly undesirable conditions: the same monopolistic conditions of a particular industry in the U.S. are transplanted to Mexico; the rate of profit is exorbitant; its growingly advantageous position leads to a control of the national economy; economic dominance leads to political power. In short, if the trend continues, Mexico will soon become a pretty sad appendage, a sort of Cuba or Panama. Many organized groups oppose this ruinous policy: therein lies our hope."

The Worker,
February 17, 1957, p. 6.

10. Philippine Islands

"Victory over the Japanese brought fulfillment of one great goal of Filipino people. The independence promised by Roosevelt was won. But oppression from landlord rule continued. And under collaborators with the Japanese, like Manuel Roxas, the independence of the Philippines was circumscribed by the type of relationship established with the U.S. Thus,

15 military bases were given to U. S. forces and the Bell treaty was signed giving U. S. business interests a predominant control over the economy of the Philippines."

Daily Worker,
March 19, 1957, p. 2.

VI. LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL AFFAIRS

1. The 85th Congress is dominated by an "anti-labor coalition."
2. Senator James O. Eastland should be expelled from the United States Senate.
3. Congressional investigating committees are "hacking away at the Bill of Rights."
4. Those convicted of violating the Smith Act should be granted amnesty.
5. The Government is using the Taft-Hartley Law to intensify its attacks on the labor movement.
6. The aim of the McCarran Act is to prevent any possibility of peaceful coexistence between the United States and the Soviet Union.
7. All anticommunist legislation should be repealed.
8. The United States Supreme Court should be defended against the "reactionary assault" of Congress.
9. A Negro should be appointed to the United States Supreme Court.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. The 85th Congress

"Once again, as in past years, the anti-labor coalition of reactionary Republicans and conservative Democrats will be in the saddle

in the new Congress. Labor and its allies must reckon soberly with the fact that two-thirds of the Congressional committees are headed by Southern Democrats, some of them of the Dixiecrat stripe, and that the effective Congressional leadership is in the hands of Senator Lyndon Johnson and Rep. Samuel Rayburn, both conservative Democrats with strong ties to Texas oil monopolies."

National Committee, CPUSA, "Facing the 85th Congress," Political Affairs, January, 1957, p. 2.

"...A whole list of objectives vitally affecting the economic and social welfare of America's workers and other smaller-incomed peoples come up before this Congress. A cut in taxes for those who really need the relief; expansion of minimum wage coverage; a national health plan; expansion of public housing and school construction are some of the key points on labor's legislative program for the session.

"Will 1957 really be a 'Happy and Prosperous New Year' for the many millions. That depends in the first place on the unity of the people-- labor, farmers, Negro, professional and middle classes--and the degree to which this unity is used militantly and effectively in the fight for higher living standards, peace and civil rights, and in the struggle against the monopolies."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
January 1, 1957, p. 5.

2. Expulsion of Senator Eastland

"Eastland IS a racist. It is a scandal and a disgrace that he is in the Senate. It is a mockery of justice that this sworn foe of equality for America's 17, 000, 000 Negroes should be permitted to head a Senate committee investigating--what a laugh--the processes of law...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
February 27, 1957, p. 5.

"And is it not now high time that James Eastland, master witchhunter and violent racist, be expelled from the U. S. Senate which he disgraces with his presence?"

Editorial, Daily Worker,
April 5, 1957, p. 5.

3. Congressional Investigating Committees

"The House Un-American Activities Committee launched a new attack on freedom of the press by summoning editors of leftwing publications, including John Gates, editor-in-chief of The Worker and Daily Worker, as well as publishers and distributors of progressive books."

"Gates' defiance of the Un-American hatchet-men... represents distinguished service in defense of the liberties of all Americans...."

Editorial, The Worker,
March 17, 1957, p. 4.

"ONE OF the more impressive moments of the House Un-American Committee's little gatherings... the other day was the patient effort of one witness to explain to Rep. Moulder, a Missouri Democrat, that 'interstate' does not mean movement between foreign countries and the United States but betwee none state and another."

"The whole moronic farce, presided over by a political genius who didn't even know the meaning of 'interstate,' ought surely to spur new public demand that Congress vote this committee out of existence."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
March 18, 1957, p. 5.

"Words can hurt, and words can kill. Yesterday they killed Egerton Herbert Norman, Canadian ambassador to Cairo.

"Death came by his own hand. But by all accounts, the Canadian diplomat was the latest witchhunt victim.

"He had been smeared, not by his own government... but by a U. S. Senate Committee, as a 'Communist agent.'

"This committee was Senator Eastland's infamous Internal Security subcommittee...."

"It takes Eastland and his crew a moment to spill their evil mischief. Some lifetimes are too short to undo the harm they do."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
April 5, 1957, p. 5.

"... What price the glib condolences of our government to the Canadian people when, only four days after Norman's death, a Congressional committee is back at work, busy at the trade of smearing reputations, ruining lives, threatening people whose opinions it dislikes?"

Editorial, Daily Worker,
April 11, 1957, p. 5.

"The post-election hearings of the Eastland and Walter committees are a shocking reminder that McCarthyites in Congress are still hacking away at the Bill of Rights."

National Committee, CPUSA, "Facing the
85th Congress," Political Affairs,
January, 1957, p. 2.

4. Smith Act

"The Supreme Court is now weighing the membership clause of the Smith Act. Democracy and national decency will be the gainers if the clause is ruled unconstitutional...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
January 8, 1957, p. 5.

"WEEK-END DISPATCHES report that a group of notables cabled Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia urging he free Milovan Djilas, imprisoned after writing an anti-government article...."

"While we do not quarrel with liberals who object to Djilas' imprisonment, we wonder why many of them do not protest as vigorously about imprisonment of Americans solely for teaching and advocating their views.

"... These American workers--Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Robert Thompson, Henry Winston and the other Smith Act prisoners--did no more than agree to 'teach and advocate' their Communist views.

"Smith Act prisoner Gus Hall has been imprisoned since 1951. * War hero Robert Thompson, nearly killed in a Federal prison, has been behind bars since 1953. Winston and Gil Green are serving eight-year sentences. And now the government is preparing a new sentence for Irving Potash, who has already served a five-year term.

"Is it too much to suggest that those who protested Djilas imprisonment... appeal to President Eisenhower for a prompt amnesty for Smith Act prisoners and an end to thought-control prosecutions?"

Editorial, Daily Worker,
January 21, 1957, p. 5.

*Hall was released from prison on March 30, 1957.

5. Taft-Hartley Law

"THE INDICTMENT of eight more persons, this time in Cleveland, on charges alleging 'conspiracy' to file false Taft-Hartley non-Communist affidavits, leaves no doubt that the Department of Justice is carrying out another round of thought-control prosecutions such as had already been carried out under the discredited Smith Act.

"Late last year 14 of the top leaders of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers were indicted on similar charges.

"In the Cleveland case, as in the Mine-Mill case, the indictment named a number of already convicted, imprisoned or deported top Communists as 'co-conspirators' to provide the guilt-by-association basis already built into the affidavit provision of the Taft-Hartley law."

"We have here a pattern pretty much the same as that already followed in the Smith Act cases. But now there is an unmistakable bridge to the trade unions for application of this type of persecution.

"The aim is clearly to 'link' as many union leaders as possible to Communists and as many Communists or other progressives as possible to such union leaders as are marked for prosecution on affidavit grounds, for wholesale jailing 'as conspirators.'

"If the government can make that tactic stick, then it has a clear road to its broadened application in the labor movement on a variety of grounds with stoolpigeons used more than ever...."

"The Eisenhower government is clearly aiming to step up repression that can only encourage those who want a revival of a McCarthyite spirit. Labor and progressives of all shades face a new civil liberties test in the new round of cases the Department of Justice is setting into motion. They cannot, and must not, evade the test."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
January 25, 1957, p. 5.

"The government's new gimmick is directed towards stepping up McCarthyite attacks on the labor movement while at the same time pursuing 'thought-control' and 'guilt-by-association' persecution in a new guise."

The Worker,
February 3, 1957, p. 2.

6. McCarran Act

"As a matter of fact, the real purpose of the McCarran Registration Act is to prevent ANY organization from having a policy of peaceful coexistence with the Soviet Union--which necessarily includes negotiations and at certain points, AGREEMENT...."

Daily Worker,
February 27, 1957, p. 4.

7. Repeal Anticommunist Legislation

"The unions and other major people's organizations, in their own interests, need to raise the demand for repeal not only of the Taft-Hartley Act, but of the McCarran-Walter, McCarran, Smith and all other witch-hunt legislation as well. The restoration of the Bill of Rights likewise calls for amnesty for Smith Act and other political prisoners."

National Committee, CPUSA, "Facing the
85th Congress," Political Affairs,
January, 1957, p. 4.

8. Congressional Attacks on Supreme Court

"Just as the coalition of southern racists and McCarthyites have been mobilizing a movement to sabotage the high court's desegregation rulings in schools and other fields, so they are now seeking to undermine even those limited concessions to civil liberties that have come from the Supreme Court in the recent past.

"The Eastland-McCarthy campaign is of a piece with the Georgia Legislature's resolution calling for removal of six Supreme Court justices. These forces are clearly seeking to develop an offensive for their treacherous and truly subversive campaign to turn back the trend of return to sanity."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
March 1, 1957, p. 5.

"...the Court...is now the center of a reactionary assault that runs through the Senate Internal Security Committee to the Georgia State Legislature."

"...Labor, the Negro people, all progressives should give the Supreme Court the utmost possible support, for it remains one of the institutions of government through which the McCarthyites can be checked."

"...The American people should demand an end to the scurrilous business in which McCarthy is engaged. The attacks upon the high court bodes further evil for the Constitution. The people in defending the court will be supporting the Constitution of the U. S....The people cannot remain passive or indifferent to any attempt by reaction to intimidate the Supreme Court."

Daily Worker,
March 12, 1957, p. 4.

9. Negro Supreme Court Justice

"THE ANNOUNCED departure of Justice Stanley Reed from the Supreme Court once more confronts President Eisenhower with the opportunity to correct a historic injustice.

"There is not nor has there ever been a Negro on the U. S. Supreme Court. The jimcrow barriers there have been as bitterly maintained as they had, until recently, in the schools and buses of the South.

"The federal government is committed, through the rulings of the Supreme Court itself, to end the racist pattern of segregation. Is it not just, therefore, that the Court itself should be rid of the stigma of racist exclusivity?"

Editorial, Daily Worker,
February 8, 1957, p. 5.

"...the appointment of a Negro is certainly long overdue. In the most dramatic possible manner such an appointment would serve notice to the racist obstructors of justice, and indeed to the entire world, that our government is determined to make democracy mean democracy in our own backyard."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
February 27, 1957, p. 5.

VII. ARMED FORCES

1. All troops should be withdrawn from all foreign bases.
2. Government spending for military purposes should be reduced so that a large-scale program for social welfare can be initiated and so that the taxes of the low-income group can be reduced.
3. The reduction of military expenditures by the Soviet Union shows that Soviet proposals for disarmament are sincere.
4. The appointment of Lieutenant General Hans Speidel to command the ground forces of NATO in Central Europe is a "dishonor to America."
5. The training methods of the United States Marine Corps are characterized by "brutality."

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Withdrawal of Troops from Foreign Bases

"... The time has come for serious consideration of the proposal, advanced by the Soviet Government and powerful sections of public opinion in the U.S.A. and elsewhere, for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from all countries, the neutralization and unification of Germany and an all-European security agreement...."

National Committee, CPUSA,
"Facing the 85th Congress,"
Political Affairs, January, 1957,
p. 3.

2. American Military Budget

"PRESIDENT EISENHOWER has submitted a truly general's budget to Congress yesterday. Nearly two-thirds of \$71.8 billion--\$2.9 billion more than last year--goes directly for military purposes. And much of the rest goes less directly for the same purposes, to pay for previous wars or for basically cold war objectives.

"The message bristles with armaments, with the major emphasis on more and newer atomic weapons. There isn't even a sign of the election campaign 'peace appeal' that brought the President millions of votes...."

"...Struggle, for peace and the other basic needs of the people, remains the only alternative. A large section of the present Congress is committed to the people on those needs. The people must continually remind them of it every day Congress is in session."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
January 17, 1957, p. 5.

"But the outstanding feature of the budget is its continuance of the cold war stance with all of the cold war establishments intact--on paper at least--when the world and the U.S. have moved beyond it. The budget now awaits the scrutiny of Congress and the people."

The Worker,
January 20, 1957, p. 5.

"We most certainly have too much government spending. Heavy cuts are needed in the two-thirds of the military part, and they can be achieved through a peace policy. That would enable us to substantially increase the welfare side, and still cut the overall budget substantially and put into effect the long promised cut in the taxes of small income people. That's how the man on the street looks at the budget."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
January 18, 1957, p. 5.

3. Soviet Military Budget

"Perhaps one of the most sensitive barometers of the international political climate is the Soviet military budget. Therefore, few people were surprised when the 1956 Soviet budget, announced after Geneva, provided for a sharp cut in military expenditures, from 211* to 18 percent of the total budget. But the 1957 budget, just unveiled at the current session of the Supreme Soviet, reveals another significant drop in military expenditures.

"The six billion ruble cut (officially \$1.5 billion) reduces the percentage of military expenditures to 16%. This is lower than any year since the end of World War II. It is thus a handy guide as to how the Soviet leaders view present international tensions. During the years of the Korean war when tensions were mounting the percentage that went for military purposes kept rising. After the death of Stalin, and the end of the Korean war, there was a significant reduction in Soviet military expenditures. That trend continued.

"BUT perhaps the most interesting aspect of the 1957 reduction in Soviet arms expenditures is that it comes after the proposed increase of American military appropriations. The Eisenhower budget foresees a \$4 billion increase for the army, navy and air force.

"The Soviet arms budget cut is a powerful argument for the disarmament proposal introduced by the USSR in United Nations. This would lead to drastic cuts in expenditures for arms by all the powers, along with an immediate halt to nuclear weapon explosions."

The Worker,
February 10, 1957, p. 5.

4. German General for NATO

"WILL A HITLER general command American GIs in Europe?

"This is exactly what will happen if the West German government's nomination of Lieut. Gen. Hans Speidel to command NATO ground forces in Central Europe is confirmed by our government and other NATO members.

*This probably should read "21. 1. "

"What an insult to the memory of the thousands of Americans who gave their lives to smash Nazism and militarism! What an affront to the 5,000,000 Jewish people of our country and the 16,000,000 Negroes who have not forgotten the racist orgies of Hitler and his generals! What a dishonor to America and its great tradition of freedom!

"The nomination of Speidel... is the fruit of that policy of rearming and renazifying Germany which threatens the peace and liberty of all Americans."

Editorial, The Worker,
February 3, 1957, p. 4.

"...Speidel was the top Nazi in occupied France, responsible for the torture and murder of many resistance fighters before being transferred to the Eastern front. It was he who planned the 1942 summer drive against Russia. On his orders hundreds of towns and villages in the Ukraine were wiped out and thousands of civilians murdered."

Daily Worker,
February 15, 1957, p. 6.

"...Before Speidel's appointment is confirmed, all NATO governments must give their consent.

"Which means there is still time for our government to change its mind."

The Worker,
February 3, 1957, p. 13.

5. Marine Corps Training

"ONCE AGAIN, Parris Island is in the headlines. For the ninth time since last April, when Marine Staff Sgt. Matthew McKeon led six young recruits in a disciplinary march that ended with their deaths, the nation will hear charges of brutality leveled against Marine instructors.

"The McKeon case ended in mild rebuke and a fevered effort by Marine brass to save the calculated method of brutality which, the generals stupidly believe, trains good soldiers.

"For it is their theory that, our country must shape ordinary easy-going American kids into trigger-ready killers."

"But new brutalities will come until and unless the Marine Corps chiefs make up their minds to reform fully, and not nominally, the whole system of training which has made Parris Island a sinister and unhappy name for the parents of America."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
February 13, 1957, p. 5.

VIII. MINORITY (NATIONAL AND RACIAL) GROUPS

1. The struggle to eliminate racial discrimination is the principal domestic issue of our time.
2. Federal civil rights legislation should be enacted in the current session of Congress.
3. The Federal Government should intervene to protect Negroes from "armed violence" in the Southern States.
4. The struggle of the Negroes for their constitutional rights should be given "unreserved support."
5. Negroes are entitled to full social, political, and economic equality.
6. While progress has been made in the past, the struggle for complete equality for the Negroes will continue.
7. Greater unity between the labor movement and the "Negro freedom movement" will promote the interests of both groups.
8. The Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom should be given widespread support.
9. Through the efforts of Negro religious leaders, Negro religious life has attained "a new and glorious stage in its development."
10. Racial discrimination is "inherent" under capitalism.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Racial Discrimination

"The question of Negro freedom, then, is the crucial domestic issue of the day, and a factor of growing international consequence." *

*Underlined words are italicized in the original text.

"Against the background of this estimate of the Negro people and their liberation movement, what are the special tasks and responsibilities of Communists? First and foremost it is the obligation of the vanguard party of the American working class to lend every support to the Negro people's struggle. This is the main uncompleted democratic task of our country; and its fulfillment will enormously advance the goals of the working class and our entire nation."*

"The great labor movement of our country and all democratic forces in American life are called upon to recognize in the struggle for Negro rights the decisive task before the country today. The Communist Party sees in this struggle the number one challenge to action for all Communists. It is the portal to new advances in all spheres in the fight for social progress."*

"Much as the destruction of slavery in the South became imperative for the forward movement of our nation a century ago, so the destruction of the Jim Crow system centering in the South has become necessary for the democratic progress of our country today. Now, as in the 1850's, ever larger sections of the American people--foremost among which is the organized labor movement--can be won as powerful allies in the struggle for Negro rights.

"The Communist Party of the United States pledges itself to the accomplishment of this task."

James E. Jackson, "On the Struggle for Negro Freedom," Political Affairs, March, 1957, pp. 33, 34, 40-41.

"Events are more and more proving that the defeat of racism in the U.S. is the Number One job to be tackled by the entire nation.

*Underlined words are italicized in the original text.

"There can be little or no progress toward goals of freedom and democracy for all unless every private and official body lends its resources to this task. This is why the present crusade against racism is one of the principal stories of our time...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
March 11, 1957, p. 5.

"The fight for the civil rights of the Negro people is now the No. 1 democratic task confronting our entire nation; and it is a task of special urgency for the American trade union movement."

Daily Worker,
April 29, 1957, p. 5.

2. Federal Civil Rights Legislation

"...the Dixiecrats are now moving to the erection of formidable parliamentary breastworks against civil rights. Their plan is not only to delay but to make the civil rights bills so meaningless that, if passed, it would be worse than nothing.

"...the Dixiecrats represent a minority whose strength derives from the weak-kneed opposition they have encountered. This is the zero hour...."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
April 29, 1957, p. 5.

"THE HOUSE Rules Committee and the Senate Judiciary Committee--both ruled by hard-bitten Dixiecrats--now control the life and death of civil rights legislation in this session of Congress.

"Rep. Howard W. Smith (D-Va), chairman of the House Rules Committee, can be expected to use every trick in the book to keep the

Administration civil rights bill off the floor. And in defending his title of 'Mr. Segregation,' Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss), chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, has even more power to throw against the bill voted Tuesday to the full committee.

"It will be in these two Congressional committees that the bi-partisan action which has seen the bill through thus far must be even more dynamic and united. The Dixiecrats on both the House Rules and the Senate Judiciary committees represent a minority. The anti-civil rights foes are dependent upon the tricks of the chairmen and the secrecy of their deliberations."

"There have been ample hearings on the bills; and there has been lengthy deliberation in both the House Judiciary Committee and in the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on constitutional rights.

"Every Congressman ought to be urged now to use his influence to speed up consideration of the bills in the House and Senate committees. And there ought to be special attention paid to those Congressmen who are members of the two key committees. It is still a race against the legislative calendar for a showdown on civil rights in the Senate."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
March 21, 1957, p. 5.

3. Federal Intervention in the Southern States

"NEGROES in the South have appealed for presidential intervention to help end a spreading wave of violence which has been growing in intensity since the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954 and subsequent court rulings outlawed segregation in schools, places of public recreation, and public means of transportation."

"The disregard of law, of common morality, of religious feeling have outraged people in the South as well as in the rest of the nation. And the

lawless elements that have participated in these outrages have received the moral support of elected officials of the government, sworn to uphold the U. S. Constitution.

"In addition, there has sprung up a network of organizations dedicated to defying the integration rulings of the Supreme Court at any cost. The White Citizens' Councils, a revived Ku Klux Klan, and other groups continually stir up action to prevent Negroes from enjoying rights guaranteed by the Constitution; to prevent their making a livelihood, and even to drive them, in some instances, out of the South altogether."

"If these depredations were being carried out against American citizens by forces outside our border, there would be no question of immediate Federal assistance. There should be no question now when armed violence is directed against peaceful citizens.

"The situation calls for the President to use his personal prestige--to go South in answer to the Negro leaders and rally to the support of the law the millions of white Southerners who also feel outraged--to appeal for universal compliance with the integration laws.

"It calls for the Department of Justice to use its facilities to the fullest extent to ferret out and prosecute those who are instigators and participants in the violence against Negroes.

"We urge immediate wires and letters to President Eisenhower and Attorney General Brownell requesting them to act to protect the rights of all Americans."

Editorial, The Worker,
January 27, 1957, pp. 1, 4.

4. Negroes Need Support

"The Negro people of our country are fighting with unbending will and irresistible resolve to secure now the whole measure of their constitutional rights as free and equal citizens. The determination is dramatically portrayed in the massive battles they are waging against segregation in the South today.

"Over a half million Negroes in deep Southern cities are participating daily in organized direct actions to break the Jim Crow barrier in bus transportation. More than a hundred thousand are engaged in organized campaigns on a single issue--to secure the right to vote; they aim to utilize the ballot as a weapon in the struggle to desegregate and to democratize Southern life."*

"It is therefore not the tasks of Communists or any other group to impose upon the Negro people new forms of struggle, tactics alien to their historic development as a people. Rather it is the task of all supporters of the Negro liberation movement, including the Communists, to lend their unreserved support to, and to take an active part in those programs and techniques of struggle which now embrace and propel into action the great majority of the Negro people."

James E. Jackson, "On the Struggle for Negro Freedom," Political Affairs, March, 1957, pp. 31, 39-40.

5. Program for Negro Liberation

"All Communists, and all progressive Americans, are called upon to marshall their maximum strength to enhance the liberation movement of the Negro people. This requires:

"1. Full participation in and support of the all-sided anti-segregation movement in the South....*

"2. The strengthening and broadening of the battle for the unfettered right of suffrage for all Southerners. The right to vote and to be voted for must not be restricted by race or property.... This struggle for democratic elections in the South must be buttressed by intensive campaigns to increase Negro representation on all levels of government, both North and South.*

"3. An intensified struggle for equal employment and upgrading practices in all industries, everywhere in the nation....*

"4. The unfolding of major campaigns to break down segregation in housing....*

*Underlined words are italicized in the original text.

"5. Action for desegregation of public schools....*

"6. Intensifying the ideological struggle against racism...."*

James E. Jackson, "On the Struggle for Negro Freedom," Political Affairs, March, 1957, pp. 37-38.

6. Struggle for Negro Rights Continues

"Some of the most glorious chapters in our history have been made by the Negro people. Their struggle to turn the written ideals of our land into living reality has been going on for more than 300 years.... Washington's Continental Army at one time included 4,000 Negro soldiers from the 13 colonies.... there were the slave revolts.... These fanned the fires of the powerful Abolitionist movement with its program to destroy slavery.... other sons and daughters of the Negro people played mighty roles in this movement for freedom, together with the more than 200,000 Negro soldiers who served under Lincoln in the Civil War which finally brought an end to the slave system. The contributions of Negroes to the building of the labor movement following the Civil War and their achievements in the arts and sciences are also immense. The list of achievements grows from year to year and would grow faster without Jimcrow. For three centuries the Negro people have been fighting for the realization of the idea that 'all men are created equal.' The latest battles bear the names of Clinton, Tenn, and Montgomery, Ala. Freedom Road is a long road. But the goals are getting nearer all the time."

Daily Worker,
February 13, 1957, p. 6.

"And while we happily look back to some of the judicial victories won on the civil rights front and many of us are thrilled by the heroic struggles of the Negro people to make these judicial victories mean something in the schools, on the buses and trains and in other spheres of life, let us not lose sight of the struggle still ahead. The racists are not giving up. They are increasing their violence by shooting at desegregated buses and maltreating Negro children."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
January 1, 1957, p. 5.

*Underlined words are italicized in the original text.

7. Negro-Labor Unity

"...during the past few years there has been developed a stalemate in the struggle. The upholders of segregation are yielding ground grudgingly and only after stiffly fought battles in and out of courts....

"For nothing has contributed to the continuance of the deadlock more than absence of an active alliance--in the South--between the Negro freedom movement and organized labor...."

"It ought to be clear now to intelligent union leaders that the civil rights stalemate dictated by the state power in the hands of Dixiecrats is also slowing to a stop the drive to organize unions in the South. So the development of a real alliance between Negroes and labor in the South is a MUST for union growth and for democratic advance."

"...Without it, neither labor nor the Negro people will advance far, despite concessions forced by the anti-imperialist struggles abroad."

Daily Worker,
April 9, 1957, p. 5.

8. Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom

"It has been left in the main to Negro organizations to press against both the naked racist terror in the streets and the attempts at 'legal' circumvention of the law in the courts... This national responsibility, borne with dignity and heroism by the Negro people and their leaders, is now to be dramatized on May 17 by a 'Pilgrimage of Prayer for Freedom' in Washington, D. C. Spurned by the President and Congress...the Negro leaders are taking their case to the nation.

"The organizers of the Pilgrimage have made it plain to the entire country that they are supporters of the Constitution as interpreted by the Supreme Court and of law and order. They have appealed to the conscience

of the nation and to every citizen with a conscience to join the pilgrimage. This appeal should be especially attractive to organized labor, for the pilgrimage gives to organized workers an opportunity to demonstrate their unity with the demands of the Negro people for full citizenship rights.

"For in the last analysis it is this type of common action which will account for the final defeat of Dixiecratism and the victory for democracy. This is the ultimate answer to the Dixiecrat cry of 'massive resistance.' "

Editorial, Daily Worker,
April 9, 1957, p. 5.

9. Negro Religious Leaders

"THE NEGRO church in the United States has not only learned how to express the hope of fulfillment of the Scriptures, they are reenacting many of the scenes of the early days of Christianity when Christians faced the opposition of bloodthirsty Pagan rulers.

"There are not now the miles of crucifixes with thousands of human beings groaning upon them, but there are bombs and bullets and burning Klan crosses, because men are demanding the right to be treated as children of God and citizens of their native land.

"...But the present leaders have built remarkably well upon the foundations laid by their forebears....

"But the Negro minister has become more: He is a mass teacher and leader on world problems and world thought. He also knows Greek and Latin, and the U.S. Constitution and the latest rulings of the U.S. Supreme Court. And all of these, including the best of all humanist thought, whether religious or secular, is funneled to millions of Negroes through churches."

"The Negro church has reached a new and glorious stage in its development."

The Worker,
February 10, 1957, pp. 8, 14.

10. Discrimination Inherent under Capitalism

"As labor carries out this program to end bias in unions and industries, it will inevitably strengthen its position as the dynamic center for unifying all people's democratic forces. As labor cleans up its own house, it will strengthen its natural alliance with the Negro and Puerto Rican people and other victims of the discrimination that is inherent in our capitalist system. "

Editorial, Daily Worker,
January 16, 1957, p. 5.

IX. EDUCATION

1. Students are showing an increased interest in the views of communists and the right of communists to expound these views.
2. An increased program of Federal and state assistance is necessary to relieve the crisis in education and to enable the children of low-income families to obtain a college education.
3. The salaries of teachers in the United States are inadequate.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Students Interested in Communists' Views

"Moreover, if there is one thing students learn, it is that to understand a subject, it's best to go directly to the source. For the past several years students have had anti-Communists presented to them as experts on Communism. It is not surprising that students are eager to hear, for a change, from a Communist himself."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
March 13, 1957, p. 5.

"While it would be wrong to draw too many conclusions from the recent campus developments, it is fair to say that student opinion undoubtedly reflects considerable adult opinion. It reflects an increasing revulsion to repressive legislation, and alarm at continuing signs of McCarthyism.

"Most New Yorker students do not agree with Communist positions--as they understand them now--but they are agreed that the Communists have a legitimate place in the marketplace of opinion. In short,

they stand on the principle that the Communists have a right to speak and that they have a right to hear whom they wish."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
March 21, 1957, p. 5.

"We sense great stirrings among students. We do not claim any great surge toward socialism, although there is certainly a heightened interest in what Communists have to say. Rather there is taking shape a powerful insistence among the people, and young people primarily, to assert their right to listen, unfettered by the dictates of frightened men.

"This is a mighty force. And we commend to those among us who see only similar stirrings when they occur in foreign lands, some close attention to this significant and healthy American phenomenon."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
March 15, 1957, p. 5.

2. Crisis in Education

"The fact is that college educations are being priced right out of the reach of all but the most gifted children of America's low-income families. Only the brilliant few rewarded by scholarships, or those whose parents have the capacity and opportunity for the most arduous self-sacrifice, can look forward to a higher education.

"And yet, such is the irony, the day does not pass that does not contain one warning by some national leader that this country must act swiftly to prevent the Soviet Union from outstripping us in the training of scientists and engineers.

"We are, indeed, in the midst of a major crisis of education...."

"...if higher education is to be the democratic right of every American child who wants it, both the state and federal government must act, in concert, in much more urgent and serious a fashion.

"...A winning fight for a full-scale educational aid program, to include adequate funds to make free or truly low-cost college education available to all would be a good way to begin."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
January 22, 1957, p. 5.

3. Teachers' Salaries

"AMERICA'S LATEST hero is Charles Van Doren, the 30-year-old New Yorker, who has become television's biggest money winner (\$122,000 as of last Monday), and is still going strong."

"...He has studied, in addition to literature, mathematics, physics, constitutional law, history, quantum mechanics and dozens of other subjects.

"The question that fascinates us even more than Van Doren's performance is: what kind of social system is it under which a man with his extraordinary talent and training earns a salary of \$4,400 a year?"

Editorial, The Worker,
February 3, 1957, p. 4.

X. CULTURE, SCIENCE, AND RELIGION

1. The arts in the United States are "victims of governmental neglect."
2. Literature reflecting social change has been treated as an "unfortunate and unmentionable aberration."
3. The late Arturo Toscanini used his artistic talent "to build a better world."
4. A socialist society is required to cope with the economic advances which have resulted from recent scientific developments.
5. Socialism and religion are not mutually incompatible.
6. The world's religious faiths hope for peace.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Government Neglects the Arts

"The condition of independent radio and TV, architecture, painting, sculpture, graphic art, literature and the movies is about the same as the other arts. They are victims of governmental neglect."

The Worker,
January 20, 1957, p. 9.

"In these days when the nation's cultural leaders are trying to shake a few dollars to save the arts out of a congress that thinks nothing of spending forty billions a year for armaments, it is well to recall the great days of the government-financed WPA Theatre and Arts Projects. These projects brought about a cultural renaissance before they were smeared as 'red' and closed down by congressional witchhunters."

"ALL THESE projects were eventually liquidated by men who regarded them as a waste of the taxpayers' money at a time when the smell of war was in the air. Before the Federal Art Project was sabotaged, some 5,000 artists attached to it completed over 1,000 murals, 50,000 oil paintings, 90,000 prints 'allocated to schools, libraries and hospitals.' Also 4,000 pieces of sculpture for public parks and countless posters and photographs."

"WE'VE MERELY scratched the surface of the story of the great cultural awakening that gripped America in the mid 30s.

"This was democracy at work... .

"The WPA arts projects were suppressed... because they were democratic and a 'red rag' to the Big Money whose slogan was 'guns, not culture.' "

The Worker,
January 27, 1957, pp. 10, 14.

2. Proletarian Literature

"Writing in the Thirties was vigorous and full of energy. But this vigor and energy came from the sharp, vital conflict that characterized the period. People were in motion; and motion, conflict, direction, make for a powerful literature even when, as then, the newness and strangeness of the subject matter give rise to naivete and sentimentality.

"Today there is no clear and simple conflict, no urgent objective necessity which might set the American people in motion. Therefore they are passive, static; what motion there is seems spasmodic, individual, and largely without direction. The deep and awful conflicts which do actually exist are overshadowed by our gigantic, all-encompassing productivity; blurred and distorted by the skillful, incessant chorus of Madison Avenue."

Yoli Tannen, "Is a Puzzlement,"
Mainstream, January, 1957, p. 18.

"In the 1930's, earnest if tendentious novelists, caught up in the tide of men in motion, wrote books about strikers and sharecroppers, union organizers and unemployed marches. Taken all and all they were crude and platitudinous, but they reflected social change."

Daily Worker,
February 8, 1957, p. 7.

"For almost twenty years now literary criticism--whether in academic or avant garde circles--has concurred in treating the entire tradition of social and political literature, so especially important in the United States, as an unfortunate and unmentionable aberration...."

The Worker,
March 10, 1957, p. 14.

3. Art Should Promote Social Progress

"THROUGHOUT his long and brilliant career the driving force of Toscanini's genius was his passionate love of liberty and democracy...."

"When Italy lost her freedom under the fascists, he fought them with his favorite weapon--the baton."

.

"TOSCANINI's hatred for Hitler fascism also knew no bounds...."

.

"THE MAESTRO was a lifelong enemy of anti-Semitism...."

.

"A GREAT MAN has gone, a great musician who used his art as few great artists have used it in the past in the never-ending fight to build a better world."

Daily Worker,
January 17, 1957, p. 6.

"Every concert was an experience where people learned something new, even about the most familiar works. It is a tremendous thing to have revealed, as he did, the partnership between art, human freedom and social responsibility, to have been one of the world's bearers of light. That is why the world mourns his passing and remembers him with gratitude."

The Worker,
February 3, 1957, p. 9.

4. Modern Science Requires Socialism

"What immense gains, for instance, could science give us today if it were not shackled to war and war preparations! And modern wars are a product of our capitalist society.

"SCIENTIFIC DEVELOPMENT has far outstripped the kind of economic system we have...."

"...we believe the American people will determine that the vast new productive forces developed by science will require a socialist society to cope effectively with them."

Editorial, The Worker,
January 6, 1957, p. 4.

5. Socialism Is Not Antireligious

"An outstanding feature of the Polish elections was the cooperation between the Catholic Church and the Communists. This refutes the notion that socialism is a barrier to religious freedom. There are deep ideological differences between various religions and also between religious doctrine and socialist philosophy. But just as there can be coexistence among nations with different social systems, there can and must be coexistence between religion and socialism within a country."

Editorial, Daily Worker,
January 22, 1957, p. 5.

6. Major Religions Hope for Peace

"SPRINGTIME, 1957 and once again the world of Christianity observes the Resurrection of the Prince of Peace, while the Jews are celebrating their liberation from ancient bondage, and the Moslem world is in the midst of its rites of Ramadan.

"The followers of three great religions, in their various ways, express one hope in common--that the swords will be beaten into plowshares of peace."

"Truly the Easter bells are chiming this year to call mankind to cease preparing for war.

"The will to live in peace, in fraternal harmony, is the dominant, most profound, aspiration of humanity this time of Spring. For even our children have come to know that another war can bring doom, irretrievable and final, to the sons of Man."

Editorial, The Worker,
April 21, 1957, p. 4.

XI. WOMEN

1. Women should receive equal pay for equal work.
2. Discrimination against Negro women in industry is still prevalent, particularly in the Southern States.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Equal Pay for Equal Work

"The problem of economic opportunities for women... is one that affects directly one-third of American workers--for today one of every three workers is a woman.

"Furthermore, one of every three women of working age, 14 years and older, is in the labor force today.

"The issue of equal pay for equal work should therefore, have a high priority within the labor movement, and in our legislative halls."

Editorial, The Worker,
March 10, 1957, p. 4.

2. Discrimination against Negro Women

"WHILE the growth of industry in the South has been almost revolutionary in recent years, very few Negro women (or men) have profited from this new prosperity. Many new plants have been established here in recent years; numerous factories have moved from North to South for cheaper labor and to avoid unionization... but the hiring patterns have not changed.

"Only 14 percent of the Negro women in the United States are in industrial work according to the 1950 census report, and most of these are in the North. Over one-half of the Negro women in the country--and an even higher percentage in the South are domestics, in laundries, or as clean-up women in factories, office buildings, schools, and hotels.

"Clean-up jobs pay \$15 a week with little limit as to hours, sometimes working as many as 60 hours a week. While some Southern states have set some general limits upon the hours of white women they have notably failed to make any kind of limitation for domestic work. It would be safe to say that 99 percent of the domestic workers in the South are Negro women.

"WHEN Negro women do get an opportunity to work in Southern industry they work in the unskilled, lowest paying categories;"

The Worker,
March 10, 1957, p. 7.

XII. YOUTH

1. The cold war has turned the middle-class youth into a "Scared Generation."
2. Participation in the struggle for socialism will improve the moral conduct of American youth.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. The 'Scared Generation'

"... 'Time' magazine, fountain of cynicism and moral apathy, reports that the middle class youth has become 'fatalistic, stodgy, suspicious of life, afraid to pioneer or take chances,' and lots more. They are so scared of being labelled 'subversive,' says Time, and of having their future ruined that they have given up all convictions, all social idealism.

"It has been called the 'Silent Generation.' It might well be called the 'Scared Generation.' The cold war has done it. The McCarthyites seem to have robbed a whole generation of its American heritage of faith in democracy and progress."

The Worker,
March 24, 1957, p. 9.

2. Struggle for Socialism Will Improve Youth

"... To believe that our youth can be led to a better life by means of playgrounds, Hollywood, social dances, and the churches all under the benevolent guidance of the police stick, is to deceive ourselves.

"Nor does this mean that we can leave the solution of the particular problem of our youth to that very youth--by playing the new game of 'democracy' with them..... Playing 'democracy' will not make our youth democratic because in a society that does not know equality, 'democratic' games, which appear as phony to our youth, are indeed phony in reality.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"Moral conduct of our youth can be expected only when its advance elements associate with the advance elements in society and the conscious struggle of creating socialism, of creating a new life and a moral life within the decay around us."

The Worker,
March 3, 1957, p. 14.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~